

Bharatiya Vidya Studies No

BHĀSA

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FOREWORD

A great drama is the fairest flower of a great age of a great country for it is the thing of beauty that bridges the creative genius of man and God. It is the apex of literature. From the point of view of literary art it is the most difficult form to achieve for the social is the most potent instrument of national life.

The creative artists who create such dramas to use Milton's words are —

In chorus or iambic teachers best
Of moral prudence with delight received
In brief sententious precepts while they treat
Of fate and chance and change in human life
High actions and high passions best describing

Æschylus the father of tragic poetry in Greece born in c. 525 B.C. carried the drama to its utmost bounds. Creative faculty has never expressed on a more majestic scale than in him.

But long before the Greek Aryans developed drama—even in Rg Vedic times—the Aryans in India had evolved a form of drama characteristically Indian. Bhasa is the oldest known master of drama whose works have come down to us. He flourished according to our authority between the 5th and the 4th century before Christ a conclusion with which I agree. He represents this form of creative art at its best in the age when the power and culture of India were growing under the first empire of Ikṣvāku.

There are no doubt fundamental differences as the author points out between the drama of India and of ancient Greece. The Greek dramatist thrilled men with awe and wonder his Indian contemporary moved them to emotions the subdued tones of which were inspired by a world in harmony with Dharma. But the dramatist in both countries was a great educator and refiner of national life.

Bhasa lacked the perfection of Kalidasa but his range was wider. He could crack a joke or shed a tear could be furious or heroic with equal ease. The characters which he delineated ranged from kings to burglars from goddesses to monkeys. His characters have not the etherealised quality of Kalidasa. They are straight forward human beings. Vasavadatta is human. Sakuntala ideal. And if dialogue is the soul of drama Bhasa has a superior technique of the two.

With this volume begins a new series of Bharatiya Vidya Studies published by the Bhavan in order to present different aspects of Indian culture in a form which appeals to the ordinary reader. The author is a great student of Bhasa. His larger work on Bhasa is a scholarly study of the poet and his works but in this volume he has within a short compass presented the subject with great skill. And I have no doubt it will help to throw light on one of the most interesting facets of Indian culture.

K. M. MUKSHI

PREFACE

The present publication owes its origin to the suggestion of Shri K M MUVSHI, President, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan that I should write a book on Bhāsa for the general reader and the University student. With that aim in view, I have presented a critical study, from various aspects, of the works of Bhāsa and the Bhāsa Problem.

The book is divided into seven chapters followed by Select Bibliography and Index. Beginning with Rgvedic Age, the first chapter supplies a 'historical and cultural retrospect' bringing the story down to the period of Candragupta Maurya in which Bhāsa flourished. "Bhāsa and his works" forms the next chapter, in which particulars have been supplied about Bhāsa's works as gathered from literary material and about his life as inferred from his works and after giving an introductory sketch about the origin of Sanskrit Drama and its ten types common authorship of the thirteen plays has been proved. The third chapter gives the plots of the plays and the next chapter, the largest in the book, makes a critical study of these plays from various aspects. Sources of the plays, sentiments, characterization, descriptions and narrations, *alamkāras* and *subhāsitās*, metrics, style and dialogues, *Nāṭyaśāstra* and Playhouse *Nāṇḍī* and *Bharatavākya*, Bhāsa and tragedy, anthology verses Bhāsa and Kālidāsa, Bhāsa's influence, *Cārudatta* and *Mṛcchakatika*, Kerala dance and Cakyars, and *Yajñaphalam* and Bhāsa are different topics considered illustrated with quotations.

making for a dull and pedantic presentation to the general reader no important topic has been omitted from the footnotes. No wild statements or generalizations that cannot be documented have been made in the book. Precision and accuracy have been the watchwords throughout. For the sake of convenience footnotes have been collected together and given at the end of the book. For further and detailed study readers are referred to my earlier book *Bhisa A Study* where all topics have been dealt with exhaustively and with a complete and thorough array of footnotes. The present work however is not a mere summary or resumé of my earlier work though the material is the same the presentation and method are quite different in both books.

It is with feelings of deep sorrow that I record here the help that I received for this book from my revered *Guru* the late Dr V S SUKTHANKAR. Not only did he read and approve of my typed copy but also made a few suggestions. He was pleased with the printing of the book of which he saw 112 pages and he liked the idea of placing the footnotes at the end. It is indeed a matter of great misfortune for me to find that he did not live to see the completion of my book. I have also to thank my revered friend Prof H D VELANKAR of the Wilson College who carefully went through the whole type script and made a number of valuable suggestions relating both to the text and notes in the present book. I am greatly indebted to him for troubles he took for my sake.

Shri MANSURI evinced keen interest in the progress of my work during all stages ever since I undertook the

publication, and but for his suggestion and encouragement the book would not have seen the light of the day so soon.

The press deserves to be congratulated on the fine printing and get up of the book with scarcely a misprint, which are rarities in Indian publications.

I shall deem my efforts amply rewarded if the present work creates interest among University students and the educated public for our valuable heritage—Sanskrit Literature, and if the present study is followed by similar works on other celebrated dramatists like Kalidasa, Bhavabhūti and Harsa.

A. D. PLESALKER

ABBREVIATIONS

- Abh Abhiseka Lahore 1930
- ABORI Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research
Institute Poona
- AMV Asutosh Memorial Volume Patna 1926 28
- Arthaśastra Kautiliyam Arthaśastram Mysore 1919
- Aścarya Aścaryacudamani Madras 1926
- Avi Avimaraka TSS No 20 Trivandrum 1912
- Bal Balacarita TSS No 21 Trivandrum 1912
- BRRI Bulletin of the Rama Varma Research Institute
Trichur
- BSOS Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies London
- BV Bharatiya Vidya Bombay
- Car Carudatta Trivandrum 1922
- Carm Lect Carmichael Lectures
- Comm Vol Commemoration Volume
- Dgh Dutaghatotkaca TSS No 22 Trivandrum 1912
- Dv Dutavakya Trivandrum 1925
- Festgabe Garbe Aus Indiens Kultur Festgabe Richard
von Garbe Erlangen 1927
- Festgabe Jacobi Beitrage Zur Literaturwissenschaft and
Geistegeschichte Indiens Festgabe
Hermann Jacobi Zum 70 Bonn 1926
- Festschrift Kane A Volume of Studies in Indology pre
sented to Prof P V Kane Poona 1941
- GOS Gaekwad's Oriental Series
- HIL History of Indian Literature
- HR Hindusthan Review Patna
- IA Indian Antiquary Bombay

- SD Sanskrit Drama by A Berniedale Keith Oxford, 1924
Shama'a Shama'a, Madras
Svapna Svapnavāsavadatta Trivandrum 1924
TSS Trivandrum Sanskrit Series
Ūru Ūrubhanga TSS No 22 Trivandrum 1912
ZII Zeitschrift für Indologie and Iranistik, Leipzig

BHĀSA

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL RETROSPECT

Up to the first decade of this century Bhāsa was a mere name to us known only by references in some works and through some verses ascribed to him in the anthologies when the world of orientalisists was startled by the epoch making discovery of the *Svapnavāsavadatta* and other works unearthed by the late Mahāmahopadhyāya Dr T Ganapati SASTRI. Unfortunately the works have come down to us without the name of the author being mentioned in the prologue or at the end, and a huge controversy has raged over the problem of the authenticity, authorship and date of the plays.

Before dealing with the controversial question about the authenticity of the works and before coming to the particulars about Bhāsa it is proposed to give a historical and cultural retrospect in order to furnish a clear background to the period in which Bhāsa lived. This introductory sketch will facilitate appreciation of the sociological conditions portrayed by Bhāsa, and will also lead to a clear understanding of the atmosphere in which he lived and worked.

In the dim past of which the only record hitherto available is the *Rgveda*—the oldest literary relic of mankind—there lived in India people who came to be known later as the Aryas as also the black and snub nosed Dasas and Dasyus who were ethnically different from the Aryas. The Aryas of the *Rgveda* were partly pastoral partly agricultural people living in groups with their cattle and farm and had not yet emanated from nomadic life. Agriculture played an important part in their life and they did not know much of city life though references are found in the *Rgveda* to stone forts walled cities stone houses and brick edifices. They were a simple people worshippers of fire sun thunder ocean mother earth—elements of nature—and later Indra was included in their pantheon. Their philosophical speculations also did full justice to the simple folk they were dealing with the origin of the world etc. in the simplest fashion.

There were no rigid castes no orders of life no strict marriage rules and other restrictions which characterize later aspects of Hinduism. References are no doubt found to *Brahma Rajanya* and *Vis* but they relate to what may be called classes not to castes. The only distinction viz. the Arya and Dasa was based on colour. There was no heredity of profession everyone was free to take up any profession he liked and he could change it for another at his sweet will. The only people outside their fold were the black skinned noseless Dasas.

The family was patriarchal and joint family system was in vogue. Women were given their due place of honour. Vedic women occasionally composed hymns took part

in sacrifices freely spoke and mixed with people and attended feasts and sacrifices gaily decorated and decked with ornaments They inherited and possessed property As a rule monogamic marriages were followed polygamy however was not uncommon There were no hard and fast rules regarding forms of marriage etc Intermarriages were allowed On the whole there was a high standard of morality ¹

Both vegetable and animal food was taken in Vedic times The dress of the Vedic Indians consisted of two oblong pieces of cloth There was no purdah system in ancient India The peaceful life and the chanting and composition of the hymns practised by the Vedic people were occasionally disturbed by wars the famous *Dasarajna* among which has been immortalized in the hymns Military organisation in Rgvedic times consisted of armoured elephants chariots drawn by horses bow and arrow axes javelins and swords Their weapons of defence were the helmets leather armours and shields coats of mail etc There were no complications of political life no judicial machinery

Horses bullocks camels and chariots were the means of conveyance in the period of the *Rgveda* Industry trade and commerce were practised there being references to smiths carpenters and weavers to loans usury debts and contracts as also to the fixity and finality of sale Sea voyages were undertaken by the Panis Horse racing and chariot driving were the popular pastimes The Vedic Indian was an inveterate gambler Cremation and burial were the modes of the disposal of the dead The

deemed sufficient to confer on the individual a membership of that caste. Endogamy was strictly adhered to in marriages, and rigidity of occupations was enforced. This period and the subsequent one of the *Upanisads* are characterized by philosophical speculations of the highest order. We get first glimpses of the educational system, as also of the various *Āśramas* in the age of the *Upanisads*.

The same state with regard to the rigidity of the caste-system and its formation into four watertight compartments is in evidence later on in the period of the Epics the *Jātakas* and the *Arthasastra*. Women also came to be excluded from religious functions and restrictions were placed on them. There are reasons to believe that at least during the early stage of the advent of Buddhism, which was started mainly with the idea of dealing a death blow to class distinctions and superiorities. Brāhmana superiority was not seen its place being taken by the Kṣatriya caste. Equality in status proved only a dream. The different *Āśramas* were in vogue more or less in this age also, and the Buddhist *Jātakas* also refer to the orders of student, hermit, etc.

With the caste restrictions gaining a foothold, came various rules about marriage, caste endogamy and *gotra* and *sapinda* exogamy being the principal ones. The epic as also the *Dharmasūtras* and the *Arthasāstra* speak of eight (or six) different forms of marriage, some of them being described as censurable. Inter caste marriages and hypergamy though not condemned downright, were not approved. Pratiloma marriages were always prohibited, the only historical instance being the marriage of Devayāni

with Yayati

The epics contain descriptions of cities and city life but mostly they are exaggerated though we may take them to indicate that the people enjoyed an advanced state of city life. There were many palatial buildings in the cities assembly halls guest houses gardens alms houses etc. There were also public parks lakes summer houses etc. The Buddhist literature speaks of three kinds of cities. Many of the cities were fortified and many buildings had superstructures over them. No open spaces or enclosures were left around houses for private gardens. The Buddhist scriptures contain some discourses about domestic architecture stating houses to be of five kinds and said to contain a number of articles rooms etc.

With regard to food we find that there was a gradual bias against meat eating especially in the case of the Brahmanas in the epic period. Though the *Jatakas* speak of flesh eating as being current among the Brahmanas we do not think that in the post epic period and the period of the *Jatakas* and the one following it Brahmanas enjoyed meat eating.

Military organization and the machinery of government had however made a considerable advance in the epic period. The army was divided into four parts infantry cavalry chariots and elephants. These were under the command of suitable officers. Rules of war were humane.

In the *Mahabharata* we get glimpses with regard to some peculiar social customs of which brief reference is necessary. In connection with the Purdah system it seems that the system was not in existence in the epic

period. There are descriptions of women moving about unveiled. The system appears to have been borrowed by the Indians from the foreigners in the early centuries before Christ and prevailed in Northern India among the Ksatriyas. As regards the custom of *Sati* it may be observed that there is no reference to the burning of widows in the *Rgveda*. The *Mahabharata* speaks of the self immolation of queen Madri on her husband's funeral pyre. There is some doubt about the genuineness of the reference to the burning of the widows of Kṛṣṇa. It is significant that there is no mention of the burning of the widows of Duryodhana and others. *Smṛti* writers of a late period state the custom and specify the exceptions. It seems the *sati* as a rule was not observed in the *Mahabharata* age. With regard to the disposal of the dead on the battlefield the *Mahabharata* enjoins that no funeral obsequies are to be performed for the dead nor are they to be mourned nor are the corpses to be cremated or buried.² The corpses were left on the battlefield to be devoured by wild beasts, vultures etc.

On account of the close similarity which they bear to the works of Bhasa, the social conditions of the Mauryan period as reflected in the *Arthaśāstra* are separately given. The influence of the prevailing social conditions on any particular author or work may best be illustrated by quoting the instance of Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*. The *Arthaśāstra* though professedly a book on politics and though proclaiming equal and impartial treatment to all alike could not but promulgate special rules in the case of the Brahmanas on account of the social privileges and the high status they

enjoyed at the period. They were, for instance, immune from capital punishment. The influence of espionage, magic etc. on the political life may also be ascribed to the prevailing beliefs and customs of the period.

Now, the *Arthasāstra*, no doubt, testifies to the existence of the *Varnāśramadharma*, but in not so strict a form as during the earlier epochs, and in most cases its rules were subservient to expediency. The *Arthasāstra* speaks of eight forms of marriage and various kinds of sons. Inter communal marriages were not rare in those days, as also political marriages among the principal ruling families of the period. We get an advanced picture of towns and cities, with description of the laying out of a city in various directions with different quarters for different people. There were ditches and fortifications round cities. Every group of ten houses had a well and underground drains carried off rain water. Trumpets were sounded to mark the beginning and end of night. Pedestrians had to carry lamps with them during night. Reference is found to slaves and rules have been given regarding their emancipation.

The *Arthasāstra* naturally speaks in detail about palaces and the various buildings to be housed therein, about the king, princes and ministers, war council, secret service, etc. The king had a daily round of heavy duties from 3 A. M. to 9 P. M. He also served as the Commander in Chief of the forces. Ambassadors used to be sent at various foreign courts, and it was a universal rule strictly followed that an ambassador was never to be killed. The secret service department played an important role in the political life.

of the period Various kinds of weapons of war have been enumerated in the *Arthaśāstra* which find their parallels in those mentioned by Bhasa The Army Department was under a Senadhyaksa with various Departmental Chiefs such as Hastyadhyakṣa Aśvadhyakṣa Āyudha garadhyakṣa etc under him There was a custom of waving lights before horses and elephants on particular days All the departments of war had to undergo daily training and exercise with the exception of a few days and the king attended the drill and parade Death on battlefield has been highly extolled Deeds of valour of the brave were recorded in the Annals of the State

✓ It was during this period that Bhasa wrote his plays The picture that we get of Bhasa's India has been elaborately treated in a subsequent chapter and it stands a fair comparison with the conditions portrayed in the *Arthaśāstra* ⁴

At this stage it may not be irrelevant to refer in brief to the political history The next important events after the battle of Sudas with the ten kings described in the *Rgveda* were the battles of Sahasrarjuna and Rama Jamadagneya as also the great battles and wars related in the *Ramayana* and the *Mahābhārata* Janamejaya came to the throne after the great internecine Bharata war and his descendant was Vṛkṣu who transferred the capital of the Bharatas from Hastinapura which was washed away by the Ganges to Kauṣambi Udayana Vatsaraja was a scion of the Bharata family and was well known for his mastery in lute and in taming wild elephants He belonged to the Buddhist period and

Pradyota Mahasena of Avanti and Darśaka of Magadha were his contemporaries. Avanti, Vatsa, Kosala and Magadha were the four big kingdoms when Buddha lived and preached. King Candā Pradyota—Mahasena—of Avanti, Bimbisara and his son Ajatashatru of Magadha, Prasenajit of Kosala and Udayana of the Vatsas were the contemporaries of Buddha. Candā Pradyota called Pradyota Mahasena by Bhasa was the father of Gopalaka Palaka and Vasavadatta and the father in law of Udayana Vatsaraja of Kausambi. Pradyota's intended invasion was the cause of the fortification of Rajagṛha by Ajatashatru. Pradyota captured Udayana by the ruse of a mechanical elephant but the latter escaped along with Pradyota's daughter Vasavadatta and married her. Later on he contracted political marriage with Darśaka's sister Padmavati after it was given out that Vasavadatta was burnt in a pavilion at Lāvanika. After the death of Pradyota his elder son Gopalaka abdicated in favour of his brother Palaka who being a tyrant was ousted by his nephew Aryaka. The Pradyota dynasty was humbled by Śisunaga. In Magadha Bimbisara's son Ajatashatru imprisoned him and usurped the throne. He transferred the capital to the newly fortified Rajagṛha. His son was Darśaka whose existence is further corroborated by Bhasa. Darśaka's son Udayaśva removed the capital from Rajagṛha to Pataliputra of which fortifications were begun by Ajatashatru.

The social conditions related with regard to the Mauryan Age refer to the period of Candragupta Maurya and his predecessors. One of his immediate

— predecessors, Ugrasena Mahāpadma, deserves our special attention. He was a great conqueror and the territorial limits of the country over which he exercised control included the region between the Vindhya and the Himalayas and the seas.⁶ There was also the danger of foreign invasion in his reign in the form of the great Hellenic invader, Alexander the Great. Bhāsa appears to have been the court poet of Ugrasena Mahāpadma or his immediate successor. He may have been the senior contemporary of the great Cānakya.

CHAPTER II

BHĀSA AND HIS WORKS

In consonance with the ancient Hindu tradition Bhaṣa has kept such a merciless reticence about himself as not to mention even his name in his works¹. No truly biographical data are available about Bhaṣa. There are no doubt certain legends which have no historical value. After mentioning the legends about Bhaṣa in the following paragraph we shall at the end give particulars regarding the personal history of Bhaṣa based on inferences drawn from a study of his works.

It is stated that on a dispute between Bhaṣa and Vyāsa for the place of honour the works of both were subjected to fire ordeal in the absence of a competent referee. Bhaṣa emerged triumphant in the test as the fire released his works intact without burning². In another legend it is stated that when Bhaṣa's works were consigned to fire by the critics the *Śaṭpataśatadatta* alone survived the fire ordeal³. There is yet another tradition which records that Bhaṣa was a washerman (*dhaṭṭaka*) by caste, was a member of Śrī Haṁsa's court and was the unnamed author of a number of works including the *Priyadarsika* and *Ratnavali*⁴. Many scholars have proclaimed the spuriousness of the passages containing the latter tradition. Perhaps Dhavaka was a court poet of

Harsa, and he is compared or even identified with Bhāsa as his *Priyadarsikā*, *Ratnāvalī*, etc. resemble Bhāsa's works. The very fact that this Dhāvaka Bhāsa is subsequent to Kālidāsa runs counter to his being a pre Kālidāsan Bhāsa. There is yet another tradition, also based on untrustworthy authority and linked with the previous one, which also states that Bhāsa was a *dhāvaka* (washerman) by caste, was distressed by poverty, and was nicknamed Ghatakarpara on account of his vow recorded in *Ghatakarpara kāvya* ascribed to him in this tradition⁴.

Bhāsa appears to have been an orthodox Brahmana, a firm believer in the caste system and in the efficacy of sacrifices and prayers. Probably, Bhasa was his *gotra* name, just as are Kautalva and Yaugandharayana. Bhāsa does not seem to have been a king as is inferred by some. His acquaintance with palaces and the royal household suggests that he may have been connected with some king, very likely as his court poet.

His religious inclination proclaims Bhasa to be a Vaishnava of the Bhakti school, and holding views of the Pāñcaratra system of philosophy. He was a champion of militant Brāhmanism, and Brahmana superiority was a rule with him. He also held cows in veneration. God fearing by nature, Bhasa was modest, witty, humorous, an engaging conversationalist and a keen observer of humanity and the beauties of nature. He appears to have been a dutiful son, a faithful husband and a loving father. Always paying due respects to the elders, he was in favour of the joint family system. Bhāsa's works bear ample testimony to his optimism, profound psychological insight,

sturdy nationalism, love of justice, liberty and freedom. He seems to have been well read in various Śāstras and conversant with the intricacies of court life. Bhāsa was no doubt an inhabitant of the North.

Besides the thirteen works that have come down to us, and the *Yajñaphalam*, Bhāsa is reputed to have written a *Nāṭyasāstra*. Tradition credits him with twenty three or even thirty works. Some scholars have attributed *Ghatakarpara*, *Tranikrama*, *Dāmaka*, *Viśvadharmā*, etc. to Bhāsa⁵, but none of these can be said to have come from Bhāsa.

Ghatakarparakāvya cannot be ascribed to Bhāsa as his identity with *Ghatakarpara* is yet to be established and again, the matter and manner of the *Ghatakarparakāvya* are quite dissimilar to Bhāsa's works. The *Kāvya* is full of Śabdālankāras and Yamakas, and mainly concerns Śrngara of the type quite different from what we get in Bhāsa.

Tranikrama has no plot, no construction, no characterization, no prologue. It is only a dialogue between the Stage manager and his mistress about the Vamanāvatara. It speaks of the 12th century as its date, and hence cannot be ascribed to any author prior to that date. It may be the work of some Cakya, possibly Nilakantha.

Dāmaka Prahasanam serves as the best illustration of a 'compilation', it is not an original work, but is made up of passages bodily taken from the *Karnabhāra*, *Śaṭpāṇāśāradatta*, *Avimāra* and *Mattavilāsa*. It belongs to the Cākya repertoire, and dates after the 7th century.

The stanza embodying the tradition about the ordeal

has been taken to refer to *Viśnudharma* as a poetical work of Bhāsa.⁶ But we have two works bearing the title *Viśnudharma* or *Viśnudharmottara*,—both *Purāṇas*,—which cannot be ascribed to Bhāsa. The stanza can be made to yield a better sense by emending *Viśnudharmān* to *Viśnudharman* (fire)

Besides the statement of *Arthadyotanika* a commentary on the *Śakuntala*, there is no other evidence for inferring the existence of a work on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* by Bhāsa.

The *Vināvasavadatta* which has come down to us anonymously and which bears similarities to the Bhāsa dramas appears to be the *Vaṭsarājacarita* ascribed to Sūdraka.

On account of the structural similarities and other parallelisms it displays with Bhāsa's works I am inclined to ascribe the newly discovered anonymous drama *Yajñaphalam* to Bhāsa. It deals with the early life of Rāma prior to his marriage.

Various anthological works quote some stanzas as having been extracted from the works of Bhāsa, but none of these is found in his works discovered thus far. Some of the stanzas however, may find a place in the printed works as indicated later on, the others may be from his still undiscovered dramas or kavyas or may be independent subhāsitas composed by him, while some do not belong to him at all, their ascription to Bhāsa being apparently due to the mistake of the anthologists. At present we can only surmise that Bhāsa may have written some more works dramas and Kavyas, which have still defied the scholars in search of MSS.

Before dealing with the various aspects of these plays it would help the clear and better understanding of them if a short sketch is given here about the origin of Sanskrit drama and its ten types

According to the Indian tradition as contained in Bharata's *Natyasastra* the origin of Sanskrit drama is to be found in the request of Indra and other gods to Brahma to create a fifth *Veda* for the Śūdras who were debarred from studying the four *Vedas* already existing⁷ The *Natyaveda* being thus fashioned for all the castes contains some features of the four *Vedas* viz recitation from the *Rgveda* gestures from the *Yajurveda* music from the *Samaveda* and sentiments from the *Atharvaveda* The Gandharvas and Apsarases took part in the play The first play was staged at a religious festival in honour of Indra's flag

In the opinion of modern European scholars religious origin is sought for the Indian drama and its beginnings are traced in the Samvada hymns of the *Rgveda*⁸ Various theories hold the field with regard to the Samvada hymns the *akhyanas* and the *Suparnadhyaya* references being made to cult dramas and mystery plays in old Vedic times The dialogue hymns in the *Rgveda* may be said to contain the first germs of Indian drama In the ritual of the purchase of Soma and in the Mahavrata festival are to be found the dramatic elements in the period of the *Brahmanas* Panini refers to the *Natasutras* of Śilalin and Kṛśāśva and Patanjali to actual full fledged dramas The use of Prakrit which is quite a feature of the Sanskrit drama is inexplicable if we accept a purely religious

setting for the Indian drama. It appears that the Sanskrit drama is a harmonious blending of both secular and religious elements—a fusion of two currents. It may be observed in passing that the earliest Sanskrit drama, hailing from the South is the *Ascarjyacudāmani* of Śaktibhadra, which has been placed in the 8th century A. D.

The theory of Hellenic origin for Indian drama is absolutely untenable. In the first place, we come across dramas which can be placed prior to the Greek contact with India. Nor can we find any influence from Greece in the development of Indian drama. Unities of time and place which are the *sine qua non* of Greek dramas are entirely disregarded in Sanskrit drama. In the latter are introduced the romantic and fabulous elements, verse mixed with prose, metrical benedictions and prologue. There is a fundamental difference in the aim placed before themselves by the Sanskrit and Greek dramatists. With the Indian, the aim was not to mirror life by a direct portrayal of action or character but to convey a moral mainly by evoking a particular sentiment in the mind of the audience and leading them to unmixed joy. This being the sole object, plot and characterization occupied but a secondary place and we find no fertility in inventing plots or portraying characters. There is thus in Sanskrit drama an atmosphere of sentiment and poetry which was conducive to idealistic creation at the expense of action and characterization. These fundamental differences in the concepts of the two schools will enable us to appreciate better the work of the Sanskrit dramatists by applying Sanskrit standards for their valuation.

With these prefatory remarks about the origin of the Indian drama, let us consider the ten types of Sanskrit drama.⁹ *Bhāna*, the one man drama was the earliest type based only on monologues and frequent speeches in the air, and dealing with only the erotic sentiment *Vithi*, with an increased number of sentiments and characters came next, followed by *Prahasana*, which is a farce or a comic satire on the vices of ascetics and Brāhmanas, containing humorous speeches, with *Hāsyā* as the principal sentiment. Next appeared *Vyāyoga* with an increased number of heroes which was raised to ten, but it excluded female as it was mostly of a military character, and dealt with all haughty sentiments. *Anka* shows a developed stage than the *Vyāyoga* as it strikes a tragic note, introduces female characters and deals with wailings of women. All these five types were one act plays with their actions spread only over a day, and contained only two of the five *Anga* of Sanskrit drama, viz., *Mukha* and *Nirvahana*, the *Vyāyoga* had *Pratimukha* as well. *Ihāmrga* which came next contained four acts three *Angas* and the duration of action extended to four days. *Dima* contained four acts four *Angas* and all sentiments with the exception of *Śrngāra* and *Hāsyā*. *Samavakāra* was similar to *Dima* and *Vyayoga*, it dealt with *Śrngāra* in addition. It had three acts each succeeding one being shorter. Difficult metre were employed and there were four *Angas* excluding the *Vimarsana*. *Nāṭikā* with four acts and four *Angas* (excepting *Vimarsa*) is a love romance its plot being either drawn from tradition or invented. *Śrngāra* was the predominant element. Then came the *Nāṭaka* containing a

Angas and all *Rasas* with no restriction as to the number of characters. The plot was either drawn from tradition or dealt with the life incidents of a king. The only points of difference between a *Nāṭaka* and a *Prakarana* are that in the *Prakarana* the plot is imaginary and deals with the life story of a merchant or a minister or a Brāhmaṇa, the manners of people of the common strata are portrayed and there is nothing of the atmosphere of grandeur.

Bhāsa's plays supply us with instances of the *Vyāyoga*, *Samarakāra*, *Anka*, *Ihāmrga*, *Nāṭika Nāṭaka*, and *Prakarana* ¹⁰

✓ The plays of Bhāsa are of unequal length and workmanship and belong to different types of Sanskrit drama. Many scholars have proclaimed multiple authorship for these plays. Diversity in the merits of these plays can be satisfactorily explained by chronology in the plays, i.e., by assigning the plays to the different periods in the poet's career. A thorough critical study of the works has convinced me of the common authorship of the plays ¹¹. Only the major arguments for holding common authorship have been indicated here.

¶ The plays are united on account of what may be termed structural similarities. All plays begin with the stage direction नान्यन्ते तत्र प्रविशति सूत्रधार after which Sūtradhāra recites one *Mangala Śloka*. The *Śāpna*, *Pratijñā*, *Pañcarātra* and *Pratimā* employ *Mudrālankara* in the *Mangala Śloka*. The prologues are very brief, silent as to the name of the author or the work, and are termed *Sthapanā*. Most of the plays use the form एवमार्यमिश्रान् विज्ञापयामि । अयं सिन्धु गङ्गा मयि विज्ञापनव्यप्रेक्षन्त इव धृत्यते ।

and the *Prayogitāśaya* type of introduction for opening the main scene. The epilogues use the following verse with slight variation or contain its main ideas

इमा सागरपर्यन्ता हिमवद्विन्ध्यकुण्डलाम् ।
महीमेधातपप्राङ्गा रात्रसिंह प्रदास्तु न ॥

In some there is also the prayer परचक्र प्रदाम्यतु ।

Then several of the plays agree in disregarding the rules of Bharata prohibiting the representation of death & duels & battles & sport and sleep on the stage & Many plays agree with regard to technique & rapid progress in action is secured by making some characters go and return (*niskramya pravasya*) immediately with the news of the intervening events. Frequent recourse again is had to *Īkṣabhisita* a kind of monologue in which a person on the stage carries on conversation with persons not on the stage. Captures & battles and duels are narrated & graphically as to conjure a picture before the audience indeed to create an illusion that persons not on the stage are there all the while. Battles are described by fairies & soldiers & Brahmanas etc *Patukīsthānakas* where replies to moot questions are given by unintentional and unexpected answers have been similarly employed in the *Pratijñā* and the *Abhiseka*. Another common feature is the bringing of actual water on the stage for ablutions & worship or for sanctifying vows or for washing a ten stained face the requital being made in the formula *apīṣṭa* at the attendant entering with *ima īpāh*.

Community of ideas is found in many plays of the group. The poet is very fond of the ideas that

natural arm is the most appropriate weapon for the brave that kings though dead in body live through their deeds that prosperity revels in adventure and is never satisfied that valour does not depend upon age etc. Numerous similes and images such as the comparison of a powerful adversary with a lion or tiger and of his weaker rival with an elephant or deer or of a person to the moon in the midst of stars are peculiarly used in these plays. There is also agreement of vocabulary and expression and recurrence of stanzas half verses and of short and long passages. These dramas present similar grammatical solecisms and Prākṛit archaisms. Regarding metres we find that there is a preponderance of the *Śloka* and use of split up verses. Some plays show a predilection for certain descriptions more or less in the same style such as darkness sunset nightfall city at night battles battle fields etc. In some plays the poet shows his sympathy with kings and warriors on the brink of ruin such as *Kaṁṇa* *Duryodhana* and *Valin*. Names of the main characters in some of the plays are the same.

There are similar dramatic situations in these plays. *Sita* and *Viśvatasena* reject the villain's overtures with a curse. The young heroes in the *Pancarātra* and *Bilacarita* similarly retort by asking 'whose king?' when told to salute the king. In the *Pancarātra* and *Pratima* one order presented at first is subsequently corrected in identical words. *Dakṣiṇa* *Valin* and *Duryodhana* have similar visions at their death. When the veracity of a messenger is doubted his usual retort is that he has never told a lie. *Paṭal* or an *Isana* are shown as having a fight the latter not

knowing that he is fighting with his father. There are also some dramatic scenes which are similar. The talks that pass between the king and the queen regarding the selection of a suitable bridegroom for their daughter are similar in the *Pratijna* and the *Atimuraka*. The pastoral scenes in the *Balacarita* and the *Pancaritra* are similar as also those describing the city at night in the *Atimuraka* and *Cirudatta*.

The predominant sentiments are the same in these plays - such as respect for elders and the Brahmanas, glorification of sacrifices and gifts to Brahmanas, the duty of kings to uphold justice and preserve the *varnaśrama dharma*, the desire for independence and the vanquishing of the foreign invaders.

These common characteristics prove these plays to be the productions of one and the same author. Now from the statement of Rājīśekhara we know that Bhāsa wrote a number of plays and the *Śāpnaśatadatta* which survived the fire ordeal was one of them. Ramacandra and Gunacandra also testify to the authorship of Bhāsa of the *Śāpnaśatadatta*. With regard to the relationship of the *Śāpnaśatadatta* as known to the ancient rhetoricians and that as come down to us we find as shown in a later chapter that the prologue and scenes referred to by Allinavagupta etc. are found in the printed text with many minor changes which are attributable to different recensions of the text.¹² The testimony of these authors proves that our text is the *Śāpnaśatadatta* as known to them and that Bhāsa is the author. As all these plays in the series are by one and the same author and as one

play of the group, viz the *Svapnāśavadatta*, is by Bhāsa, naturally Bhāsa is the author of the whole cycle. The conclusion is further strengthened by references to Bhāsa by Bāṇa, Jayadeva Dandin and others which will be dealt with in a later chapter on the "Bhāsa Problem" †

Having thus established Bhāsa's authorship of the plays, let us revert to the topic of the different periods in the author's career or the chronological order of the plays, which explains some of the apparent inconsistencies and want of uniform merit in these works. There have been some attempts at fixing the chronological order of the plays on the basis of the *Bharataśākyas* used in these plays or of the proportion of metres or of the evolution of thought and psychology. They, however, fail to take into account the joint evidence of matter and manner, and hence I have considered the problem from the point of matter and manner of the plays, the extent of their maturity and evolution and the proportion of dialogues verses poetic licences and weak endings.¹³ There are three periods in the career of the poet, the first being mainly devoted to one act plays with themes taken from the epics such as the *Dutavākya Karnabhara*, *Dutaghatotkaca*, *Urubhanga* and *Madhyamavyāyoga*, with the *Pañcarātra* as marking the transition. The *anustubh* metre predominates, the proportion of weak endings and poetic licences is high and dialogues are comparatively few. In the second period the poet shows some skill in inventing and weaving the plot and has increased the number of acts and characters. Dialogue is on the increase and there is the employment of song and dance. The *Pañcarātra*,

Abhiseka, *Bālacarita* and *Atimāraka* belong to this period. In the final period, the dialogues are on the increase, and the epic is rather slows down. The *Pratimā*, *Pratiyñāyagandharāyana*, *Śaṣṭhavāsavadatta* and *Cārudatta* pertain to this period. The first though based on the *Rāmāyana*, and the next two on folklore, show many innovations brought on by the poet. They are the finished products of the final period showing minute and psychological observation. The dialogue is so much on the increase that in the last two works there is an act each with no verse at all. The *Cārudatta* appears to be the last work of the poet, which has remained incomplete, possibly on account of his death.

These plays can be classified according to the types of drama represented by each as under

- 1 *Natalas* *Abhiseka*, *Bālacarita*, *Atimāraka*, *Śaṣṭhavāsavadatta* and *Cārudatta*
- 2 *Prakarana* *Cirānukūṭa*
- 3 *Samavakira* *Pañcarātra*
- 4 *Itimṛga* *Pratiyñāyagandharāyana*
- 5 *Anka* *Karnabhīra*, *Dūtaghatokaca* and *Uru bhanga*
- 6 *Vālyoga* *Madhyama*
- 7 *Vithi* *Dūtāyā*

In dealing with the 'Plots of the Plays' however, it would be better to group the plays on the basis of the subject matter, and the grouping will be

1. The Mahābhārata plays *Madhyama*, *Dūtāyā*, *Dūtaghatokaca*, *Karnabhīra*, *Uru bhanga* and *Pañcarātra*.

- 2 The Rāmāyana plays *Pratimā* and *Abhiseka*
- 3 The Kṛṣṇa play *Bālacarita*
- 4 The Udayana plays *Śvapnarāśatadatta* and *Pratijñā*
- 5 Romances *Aśmāraka* and *Cārudatta*.

The next chapter will give the plot of each play under the above grouping

CHAPTER III

PLOTS OF THE PLAYS

For the purpose of giving the plots of the plays of Bhāsa we divide the plays into two main groups viz the epic and Puranic and folklore and romances. Under the first group will be included the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyana* plays and the *Bālacarita* and the second group will comprise the *Aśvāmāka* *Pratijñā* *Stapna* and *Cārudatta*. The order of the plays in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana* group has been arranged in accordance with their occurrence in the epics in order to ensure clear understanding of the plots of the plays to the general reader who is normally conversant with the epics. A reader or an audience without a knowledge of the stories and of the main characters of the epics will not be able to thoroughly appreciate the plays. A short prefatory note has been appended to the plot wherever necessary supplying particulars from the epics. In a later chapter we have discussed the sources of the plays i.e. the material on which Bhāsa has worked and his own invention or innovation in the plots of his plays.

Following the order of the incidents as given in the *Mahābhārata* the *Mādhvima* receives our attention first, as it relates to the period of the forest life of the Pandavas,

and the remaining *Mahābhārata* plays concern subsequent events

✓ **MADHYAMA** There is no basis in the *Mahābhārata* for the situation told in the *Madhyama*, of Bhīma fighting against Ghatotkaca and later meeting Hidimbā, which has been invented by the poet and tagged on to the epic characters. The incidents refer to the exile of the Pāndavas after the killing of Hidimba by Bhīma, his marriage with Hidimbā and the birth of Ghatotkaca. The Pāndavas are staying in a hermitage.

The play receives its name from its being a vyayoga dealing with Madhyama the middle one, which is the appellation employed by the poet with relation to both Bhīma and the middle son of the Brahmana.

After reciting the benedictory stanza in praise of Viṣṇu the stage manager hears some noise behind the curtain, which is made by the Brāhmana family pursued by the demon Ghatotkaca. The stage manager then leaves the stage and the old Brāhmana, his wife, three sons and the demon Ghatotkaca make their entry. The demon informs them that he has been ordered by his mother to bring a human being for her breakfast and decides to obey his mother despite his respect for the Brahmanas. The Brāhmana family come to know that the Pāndavas' hermitage was nearby but all except Bhīma were absent, and Bhīma was roaming out for physical exercise. They ask the demon if there was any way out of the difficulty for them and the latter agrees to take only one of them and let off the rest. Each member offers himself for the sake of the family, finally the choice falls on the middle one, who is

allowed by the demon to quench his thirst from the lake nearby. The demon gets impatient as the boy did not return soon and calls out loudly more than once to the Brahmana boy, after knowing that his name was

Madhyama. In answer to the call Bhima (who was also a Madhyama) presents himself before the demon and at the old Brahmana's request to protect his son promises his help and orders Ghatotkaca to release the Brahmana. On the demon's refusal Bhima himself offers to accompany the demon to be taken by force if the latter had the power. Then there ensues a fight between the father and the son unknown to one another in which the son has to own defeat both in wrestling and in magic. All then go to Hidimba's residence. She at once recognises Bhima and asks Ghatotkaca to salute his father. She explains that her motive in asking Ghatotkaca to bring a human being for her dinner was to bring back Bhima himself. Ghatotkaca then salutes the Brahmanas and the family is allowed to go in peace. The normal *Bhīratnakya* brings the play to its close.

PANCAVĀTRA. After the incidents related in the *Madhyama* the Pandavas went to the Viratanagara to stay for one year in *cogito* in accordance with their stipulation at the gambling. The cattle raid carried on by Duryodhana occurred during the stay of the Pandavas with the Virata king Yudhishthira as Bhagavan, Arjuna as Bhannala, Bhima as the chief cook etc. Bhasa has employed the cattle raid but he has given it quite a different motive. There is also a reference to the marriage between Abhimanyu and Uttara.

The play derives its title from *pañcarâtra* (five nights) during which Drona offered to bring news of the Pândavas on which Duryodhana agreed to part with half his kingdom

The benedictory stanza introduces the names of the principal *dramatis personae*, after which the stage manager bears the praise of the grand sacrifice performed by Duryodhana Three Brahmana youths in the interlude describe the sacrifice at some length Bhisma and Drona followed by Śakuni, Karna and Duryodhana open the main scene All congratulate Duryodhana on the successful performance of the sacrifice He pays his respects to the elders and pronounces blessings on youngsters Duryodhana is mightily pleased and offers to give anything in his power as a *dakṣina* to Drona which he solemnly swears over water Drona asks for a share in the kingdom to the Pandavas Śakuni objects to this, and hot words pass between Śakuni and Drona Bhisma intervenes and pacifies both At the suggestion of Śakuni, who finds that Duryodhana does not wish to back out of the agreement but is willing to get out of it by quibbling, Duryodhana states on solemn oath that he will part with half his kingdom if news of the Pândavas is brought within *five nights* News is brought from Virâta of the slaughter of Kîcakas by an unknown person in which Bhisma sees the handiwork of Bhîma Drona accepts the condition of five nights on Bhisma's advice Bhisma professes a private feud with Virâta and proposes a cattle raid All agree and start against the capital of Virâta (Act I)

The interlude to the next act takes us to the outskirts

of the Virāta capital among the herdsmen and informs us that the Kurus have begun the cattle raid there. On getting the news, king Virāta sends for his charioteer and Bhagavān (Yudhisthira in disguise). He is told that practically all the Kurus with Drona, Kṛpa, Bhīma, Abhimanyu, etc. had come for the raid, and that Uttara had already taken the royal chariot with Brhannalā (Arjuna in disguise) as the charioteer. Bhagavān assures the king of Brhannalā's skill. News of Uttara's success is brought by stages from the battlefield. Uttara being engaged in rewarding the heroes after the war, Brhannalā is asked to give details of the war. Message is then brought that Abhimanyu has been captured by the cook in the royal kitchen (Bhīma in disguise). Brhannalā is sent by Virāta to escort Abhimanyu. The scene in which Abhimanyu has talks with the cook and Brhannalā, without knowing them to be his uncle and father, is humorous. Virāta is pleased with Abhimanyu's proud and truly royal behaviour. Uttara then makes his entry and reveals the identity of the Pāndavas. Virāta then offers his daughter Uttarā in marriage to Arjuna, but the latter accepts her as a bride for his son. Virāta agrees to the marriage which is decided to be celebrated the same day, and Uttara is sent to Bhīma and the Kurus with an invitation to attend the marriage ceremony. (Act II)

The next act opens in the Kuru camp where on learning of Abhimanyu's capture all make ready to fight for his release. From the particulars supplied by Abhimanyu's charioteer, Bhīma and Drona guess that Bhīma must have been the captor of Abhimanyu. Bhīma also states

that the master archer must be Arjuna. While they were thus discussing Bhīṣma's charioteer brings the arrow that struck the banner of Bhīṣma's chariot and the arrow bears the name of Arjuna. Then enters Uttara as a messenger of Yudhiṣṭhira and he invites all the Kurus for the marriage of Abhimanyu and Uttara which they decide to celebrate at Viratanagara. Drona claims the fulfilment of his part of the promise as the news of the Pandavas was brought within the stipulated period of five nights. Duryodhana agrees to part with half the kingdom for the Pandavas and all feel happy at that. There is an epilogue by Drona at the end. (Act III.)

DŪTAVAKYA After the marriage of Uttara and Abhimanyu told in the *Pancaratra* the Pandavas returned to Hastinapura from their exile and sent ambassadors to the Kurus asking for their share in the patrimony but they were turned down by the Kurus. As a final resort Kṛṣṇa prepares himself to go as an emissary of peace to Duryodhana. The epic devotes a number of chapters (V 94-95 124-131) to the description of the embassy of Kṛṣṇa giving details about the incidents at the Kurus court etc. All these particulars have been compressed in a single act in the *Dutavakya*.

The play is named *Dutavakya* as it deals with the advice (*vakya*) of Kṛṣṇa as an emissary (*duta*) of peace to Duryodhana.

After the benedictory stanza in praise of Upendra the stage manager is disturbed by some noise behind the curtain made by the chamberlain in announcing that Duryodhana wanted to consult the princes in the council.

chamber with regard to the appointment of the commander in chief for the Kuru forces in the ensuing war for which preparations were already made. After all are properly seated Duryodhana asks the assembly as to who should lead the Kurus and on Śakuni's suggestion Bhīṣma is selected as the commander in chief. Just then the chamberlain announces the entry of Narayana as an envoy from the Pandavas at which Duryodhana threatens to fine the assembly if they rose to honour Kṛṣṇa. In order to insult the envoy Duryodhana engages himself in looking at a painted scroll depicting the denuding of Draupadī. At the entry of Kṛṣṇa however the assembly rises to honour him and in confusion Duryodhana falls down. The painted scroll is then removed at Kṛṣṇa's suggestion. When Kṛṣṇa asks for a share for the Pandavas Duryodhana severely criticizes them and both use hot words. Duryodhana orders his brothers Śakuni and the assembled kings to put Kṛṣṇa under arrest but finding none dare obey him he himself tries to bind Kṛṣṇa but walks away being foiled in his effort by Kṛṣṇa's assuming cosmic forms. Kṛṣṇa is much enraged and calls Sudarsana to extirpate the Kauravas. The weapon appears in human form and reminds its master of the great divine cause of slaying a host of tyrants etc. Kṛṣṇa is pacified and asks the missile to go. Meanwhile all the other missiles of the Lord including Garuda appear and go back on being told of the pacification of Kṛṣṇa. After Sudarsana has gone Kṛṣṇa also sets out to go but is detained by the old king Dhṛtarāṣṭra who honours the Lord by falling at His feet. There is an epilogue at the end.

There is no female character in this play.

✓ **DŪTAGHAṬOTKACA** After the failure of Kṛṣṇa's mission as told in the *Dūlavākya*, hostilities began under the command of Bhīṣma for the Kurus. After the fall of Bhīṣma on the battlefield, Drona was crowned Commander in Chief, and in the course of battle, Abhimanyu, the youthful husband of Uttarā, the daughter of Virata, was encircled alone in the Cakravyūha and was slain by a number of his enemies. It is after this ruthless slaughter of Abhimanyu that the plot of the *Dūtaghaṭotkaca* begins. There is no reference in the epic to the embassy of Ghaṭotkaca, which is the invention of the poet.

The play is so called because it tells of Ghaṭotkaca as an envoy (*dūta*) carrying the message of Kṛṣṇa to the Kurus.

After reciting the benedictory stanza, the stage manager is disturbed by a soldier informing Dhṛtarāṣṭra of the ruthless murder of Abhimanyu by the Kurus. The old king protests against the wickedness of the Kurus, and foresees the doom of Jayadratha, the chief culprit, and the Kurus at the hands of the furious Pāṇḍavas. Duryodhana, Duḥśāṇa and Śakuni make their entry delighted at Abhimanyu's death and their victory. There ensues some discussion between Duryodhana and Dhṛtarāṣṭra, in which Duryodhana tries to argue with his father. On the news of Arjuna's vow to kill Jayadratha, Duryodhana says that he would protect the latter to which Dhṛtarāṣṭra retorts that Kṛṣṇa's arrows will follow Jayadratha wherever he will go. Then enters Ghaṭotkaca as an envoy from Kṛṣṇa, and unmindful of the insult from

Duryodhana he approaches Dhrtarastra who receives him courteously. The message of Krishna to Dhrtarastra is to prepare his mind for the worst and bear calmly the grief for the impending deaths of his sons. Duryodhana taunts Ghatotkaca who suitably replies to him. References are made to the cruelty and hard heartedness of the Rakshasas and the misdeeds of the Kurus. Ghatotkaca becomes enraged and prepares to fight single handed in spite of his immunity as an envoy. The old king however fearing another child murder pacifies Ghatotkaca who asks Dhrtarastra for the reply to be carried back to Krishna. Duryodhana says that his arrows would serve as the reply. Then Ghatotkaca salutes Dhrtarastra and after delivering the final message of Krishna about the threat of vengeance by Arjuna he makes his exit. There is no epilogue.

✓ KARṆABHARA Karna as is well known to every reader of the epic was born to Kunti when still a virgin through the Sun god and so he was a half brother of the elder Pandavas. He was born with armour and golden ear rings which made him invincible in war. The *Vanaparva* of the *Mahabharata* refers to Karna's being warned by the Sun god in a dream against giving the armour to Indra who would come for them in the guise of a Brahmana. Karna prefers death to losing reputation. The Sun god then suggests Karna to take magic lance in return from Indra to which Karna agrees. Indra then appears demands and gets both the armour and ear ring giving Karna the magic lance.

In the great Bharata battle Karna was selected to be the general after Drona's death and was sent out specially

to fight with Arjuna. He has, however, the premonition that his weapons would forsake him at the critical time. Śalya agrees to be Karna's driver, but Karna chooses to insult him.

Bhāsa has transferred the incident of Indra's taking the armour to the battle field, and has made Śalya sympathetic to Karna.

The play is named *Karnabhāra* as it relates to the responsibility or burden (*bhāra*) of Karna as a general.

After benedictory stanza the stage manager hears some noise caused by the warrior messenger of Duryodhana telling Karna of the impending dreadful fight. Karna is ready in his war dress with Śalya and sets out for the fight with Arjuna. Karna is in depressed moods. He asks Śalya to drive his chariot where Arjuna is, but he is held back by his mother's word and the memory of the Pandavas being his younger brothers. Then he relates to Śalya the story of his curse, how he went to Paraśurāma under the guise of a Brāhmana, and how his preceptor cursed him that his *astras* would fail him in time of need after he knew of Karna's true identity. Karna tests his knowledge but finds it fruitless. Resigned, he prepares to fight, as "slain in war one goes to heaven." He asks Śalya to drive the chariot, but is stopped by Indra disguised as a Brāhmaṇa mendicant asking a big boon. Turning down the offers of cows, horses, elephants, etc., even of his own person made by Karṇa, the Brāhmana demands the armour of Karṇa. In spite of protests from Śalya, Karṇa gives the magic armour to the Brāhmana who then makes his exit. Indra's servant comes with

the gift of Vimalā, a Śakti, but Karna accepts it only because it proceeds from a Brāhmaṇa. Karna then ascends his chariot and for the third time asks Śalya to drive it to the battle field. The usual epilogue occurs at the end.

ŪRUBHAṅGA After Karna met with death at the hands of Arjuna in the great Bharata battle, Śalya was appointed the general and after his death was fought the duel with clubs between Bhīma and Duryodhana. The incident is described in the *Gadāyuddhaparvan*. The poet has given the story in quite a different light from that represented by the epic.

The play deals with the breaking up (*bhaṅga*) of the thighs (*ūru*) of Duryodhana.

After the benedictory stanza by the stage manager, three warriors enter the stage, and in turn, give a detailed description of the battlefield and of the innumerable corpses. They then repair to the place where the terrible mace-fight is going on between Bhīma and Duryodhana, and they give a very realistic account of the duel. Bhīma is struck on the head and falls down, and Duryodhana taunts him. Then Kṛṣṇa makes a secret sign to Bhīma by striking his thigh. Thereupon Bhīma fights with a new vigour and with supreme effort hurls his mace with both hands smashing the thighs of Duryodhana who bleeds profusely and falls down. Bhīma is thereafter led away by the Pāṇdavas helped by Kṛṣṇa. Balarāma is angry at the injustice, and he opens the next scene shouting that he will kill Bhīma. Duryodhana crawls in with great effort and tries to pacify Balarāma. He shows saintly resigna-

tion saying it was no use fighting under the circumstances, and that it was really the great Lord Kṛṣṇa that had brought his doom. Then the old parents of Duryodhana make their entry along with his two queens and the little son—all bewailing his sad lot. The whole sight pains Duryodhana, he rises to salute his father, but falls down. The scene between Duryodhana and Durjaya his son, is the most pathetic, most touching, in the whole range of Sanskrit literature and deserves to be read in the original. The tragedy reaches its climax when the father is unable to offer his lap as a resting place for his son on account of his broken thighs. Duryodhana salutes his parents, asks his queens not to lament for him as he has met with a hero's death, and preaches reconciliation to his son. Finally Aśvatthāman enters the stage wrathful at the sad condition of the king. In spite of dissuasion from Duryodhana, Aśvatthāman declares his vow, with Balarāma as witness to kill the Pāṇḍavas and crown Durjaya an emperor. Duryodhana feels satisfied and gets visions of his ancestors at his death. His body is covered with cloth. Dhṛtarāstra goes to forest for penance, and Aśvatthāman to the Pāṇḍavas' camp in a night raid with upraised weapon. The general prayer by all for the protection of the earth by 'our king' after destroying his enemies appears at the end.

Next, we come to the *Rāmāyana* plays ¹

PRATIMĀ The *Pratimā* receives its title from the statues (*pratimās*) which play an important part in the third act of the play.

The benedictory stanza introduces the names of the

principal *dramatis personae*, after which the Natī makes her appearance in answer to the stage manager's call, and sings a song. The palace portress from behind the scenes asks the chamberlain to hurry up with preparations for the coronation of Rāma, to which the latter replies that everything was ready. Then enters Avadātikā, Sītā's maid, carrying a bark garment which she has removed in jest from the mistress of the royal concert. Sītā, who appears with her maids, on learning of the mischief asks Avadātikā to return the garments. Then Sītā puts on the garments for mere fun and sends for a mirror. A maid brings the news of Rāma's coronation. The sound of drum is heard, but it ceases suddenly. Rāma then enters wondering why people were astonished at his calmness in leaving the throne at his father's word. He tells Sītā how the coronation was set aside. On knowing that Sītā had put on bark garments out of mere curiosity, Rāma desires to have one for himself but Sītā prevents him saying it was ominous. A chamberlain brings news of the fainting of the king, and blames Kaikeyī for it all, but Rāma stops him justifying Kaikeyī's conduct as not being due to any ulterior motive. Then enters Lakṣmana much angry and agitated, with bow in hand, intent on ridding the world of womankind. He is soothed and tells that forest exile for fourteen years has been enjoined on Rāma and this has unnerved him and put the king in a swoon. Rāma asks for bark garments and decides to go to forest. In spite of dissuasions Sītā insists on accompanying him. Lakṣmana also pleads to be allowed to share forest life with Rāma, and Sītā supports him. Finally all the three

put on bark garments and set out for the forest, avoiding the chamberlain who enters with the news of the coming of the brokenhearted king, to prevent them from entering forest. Sītā removes her veil at Rāma's behest (Act I).

The interlude informs us of the sorry plight of Daśaratha and of the citizens of Ayodhyā after the departure of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā. The main scene opens with the king in a delirious state, frail in body and mind, continuously wailing and gazing at the direction by which the trio had left. Kausalya and Sumitra attend on him and try to console him, but he talks incoherently and is unable to control his grief. He is constantly thinking of his children whose mere names are a solace to him. Sumantra brings the news of the departure of the three to the forest after paying homage to Daśaratha. This proves a veritable shock to Daśaratha and he falls in a deep swoon, recovering but partly from it. He leaves a message full of irony and sarcasm for Kaikeyī, and finally expires, with the names of his children on his lips after getting a vision of his ancestors. His body is covered, all mourning the death (Act II).

The interlude provides some humour informing us of the statue-house and the special preparations made there for the visit of the queen mothers. Bharata, who had stayed long with his uncle, opens the main scene, he returns to Ayodhyā knowing only of his father's serious illness. To his queries regarding the state of the king's health, the charioteer replies evasively. On reaching the outskirts of Ayodhyā Bharata pictures to himself what he would find there, and his charioteer feels great sympathy

for his master Then Bharata agrees to wait outside the city till the auspicious moment on instructions from Vasiṣṭha He decides to pass the time in what looked like a temple On entering he finds four statues beautifully executed Taking them to be idols he proceeds to bow down his head but is told by the priest in attendance that they were the statues of the kings of the Ikṣvaku family Then Bharata asks the priest about each of the statues and comes to know that they represent Dilīpa Raghu and Aja and feels agonised at recognising the last statue as that of his father He enquires whether statues of living kings were erected but is replied in the negative Bharata guesses the truth and avoiding any further questions he bids adieu to the priest The priest however asks him point blank why he does not enquire about Dasaratha who parted with his life and kingdom for the sake of the dowry contract Bharata faints but recovers again and gets the news of the king's death and the exile of Rama Lakṣmana and Sita from the priest The details prove painful and Bharata again faints Just at that moment enter the queens led by Sumantra After recovering Bharata recognises his mothers and pays respects to Kausalya and Sumitra He upbraids his mother for the misery wrought by her and disowns her Kaikeyī tries to justify herself on the ground of the fulfilment of the dowry contract but not satisfied at that Bharata passes caustic remarks She however says that she will explain at the proper time and place But Bharata accuses his mother of having done havoc for personal gain Bharata is told that Vasiṣṭha Vamadeva and

others have come for his coronation Bharata determines at once to go to forest and find out Rāma and Lakṣmana (Act III)

The interlude informs us of the departure of Bharata for the *tapovana* of Rāma The main scene opens with Bharata and Sumantra in a chariot On reaching the hermitage, Bharata announces himself as an ordinary, unkind, ungrateful—but devoted—person come to see Rāma The exiled trio is unable to ascertain the identity of the speaker from his voice, and Rama sends Lakṣmana to receive the stranger Lakṣmana then comes in and announces Bharata to Rāma, who sends Sitā to receive him After mutual salutations and greetings, in the course of conversation, Rāma remarks that Lakṣmana should serve him in the forest and Bharata in the city (by ruling the kingdom) Bharata says that he can carry on Rāma's task even by staying in the forest as the kingdom can be protected by Rāma's name Rāma, however, draws Bharata's attention to his father's order and the fair name of the Raghu family To Sumantra Rāma replies that Bharata should be crowned king Bharata's requests prove of no avail, and he agrees to go back on condition that Rāma took the charge after return from exile, which Rāma accepts Then Bharata asks for the gift of Rāma's sandals in whose name he was accepting the kingdom as a trust Rāma agrees to this also and Bharata desires to crown the sandals by sprinkling coronation waters over them As the kingdom is not to be neglected even for a moment, Rama asks Bharata to leave without delay, and the latter starts for Ayodhyā

forthwith in his chariot along with Sumantra, the exiled trio escorting him as far as the door of the hermitage. (Act IV)

During the year that passed at the hermitage, Sītā has become quite familiar with her new life and duties. Rāma is worried as to how to celebrate the *śrāddha* of his father suitably, and Sītā suggests that the rite may be performed with fruits and water available in the forest. Rāma replies that by these his father would be reminded of his forest life and would grieve in heaven. Rāvana, in the guise of an ascetic, comes on the stage declaring his intention to carry off Sītā. He announces himself as "guest", and is offered seat and water. Then he introduces himself as of Kāśyapa Gotra and well versed in sacred scriptures. Rāma evinces special interest for *śrāddha* ritual, and Rāvana enumerates special offerings among various objects, stating that the golden flanked antelope in the Himālayas would be specially relished by the manes. Rāvana produces such an antelope through his *māyā*, and Rāma himself runs off after it as Lakṣman was sent out to receive Kulapati. After Rāma's departure, Sītā starts to enter the hut, but Rāvana resumes his original form, tells her of his intentions and boasts of his prowess and feats. Then he abducts her, proclaiming a challenge to Rāma. Jaṭāyu, the vulture friend of Daśaratha hearing of the challenge rushes against Rāvana, who proceeds against the vulture with a drawn sword. (Act V)

The interlude by two ascetics describes the terrible aerial fight between Rāvana and Jaṭāyu in which Jaṭāyu is slain. The main scene opens at Ayodhyā with the

return of Sumantra who had been sent to the exiles to Janasthāna. Bharata, wearing bark garments and matted hair, receives Sumantra, who at first tries to keep back the news of Sītā's abduction, but while telling of Rāma's friendship with Sugrīva blurts out the truth inadvertently. Bharata is much pained, and he approaches his mother along with Sumantra and reproaches her for the misery. Then Bharata is told of the curse that Daśaratha had, that he would die *through grief for his son*, and it was in order to fructify the curse and not for any lust for power that Kaikeyī had to effect the separation. Regarding the period, Kaikeyī explains that through confusion she spoke 'fourteen years' instead of 'fourteen days'. Bharata is satisfied and makes peace with his mother. Bharata then declares his intention of rousing the whole circle of kings to help Rāma and vanquish Rāvana. Kauśalyā faints at the news of Sītā's abduction and Bharata and Kaikeyī go to comfort her (Act VI).

The interlude opens in the hermitage after the war, in which Rāvana was slain, and informs us that Rāma was returning with Sītā and party. Rāma opens the main scene happy at the fulfilment of his vow. Then enters Sītā and they recollect some familiar incidents and visit the familiar places. Bharata comes with the queen mothers, Śatrughna, priests, and a large army. After mutual salutations and greetings, Kaikeyī asks Rāma to go in for coronation. Many triumphal proclamations are heard from behind the scenes, and Rāma enters with his followers after consecration. Rama asks his father to rejoice in heaven as his wishes were fulfilled. Then Rāma

is offered congratulations by his brothers, Bibhīšana Sugrīva, etc Rāma and the whole party then proceed to Ayodhyā in Rāvana's aerial car, Puspaka, for another coronation there. The epilogue prays for the glory and rule of the king.

ABHISEKA Next we come to the second Rāma drama, which is so called because it deals with the consecration (*abhiseka*), not only of Rāma, but of Sugrīva and Bibhīšana as well.

The stage manager recites the benedictory stanza in praise of Rāma and informs the audience of the compact between Rāma and Sugrīva for mutual help. The main scene opens at Kiskindhā where, accompanied by Rāma Lakṣmana and Hanūman, Sugrīva challenges his elder brother Vālin for duel. Vālin rushes to the spot despite his wife's prayers, and knocks down Sugrīva in the duel. Hanūman reminds Rāma of his promise, and Rāma shoots Vālin with an arrow causing him drop down unconscious. Vālin, after knowing of Rāma's name from the arrow, charges the latter with unrighteousness in striking from behind an ambush. Rāma offers a feeble explanation that Vālin was a mere animal, and was a greater wrong-doer than Sugrīva. Vālin is apparently satisfied, as he asks for forgiveness and consoles himself at the thought of meeting death at the hands of Rāma. Vālin pacifies the grieving Sugrīva. He sips water and gets visions of sacred rivers, *apsarases*, etc, and finally expires. Rāma then directs Lakṣmana to arrange for Sugrīva's consecration. (Act I)

The interlude tells of the different batches of Vānaras sent in all directions in search of Sītā, and of Hanūman's

flight to Lankā. The main scene opens in a garden in Lankā where Sita is guarded by Rākshasis. Hanūman searches everywhere in Lankā for Sita, and finally comes to the spot where she is kept. He hides himself at the approach of Rāvana, and watches the scene between Ravana and Sitā. He gets infuriated at the proud words of Rāvana, but controls his anger. Sitā is, however, adamant and at Rāvana's vile request she curses him. Then Rāvana makes his exit as it was time for his bath, and Hanūman introduces himself as Rāma's servant to Sitā. From him she learns of the sorrowful and love lorn condition of Rāma, of Valin's death and of Rāmā's proposed invasion of Lankā. He is told to inform Rāma of Sitā's condition in such a way that he may not grieve. Then Hanūman leaves with the intention of ravaging the park of Rāvana. (Act II)

Rāvana is informed of the complete destruction of the Aśoka garden by a monkey. Rāvana orders the capture of the monkey, and is gradually told of the havoc wrought by Hanūman culminating in the death of Akṣī, Ravana's son and five more commanders along with their army. Rāvana himself prepares to go, but news is brought that Indrajit has captured and bound the monkey. Hanūman, when brought before Rāvana, defies him and delivers Rāma's message. Rāvana feels indignant and furious, but Bibhīṣaṇa restrains him from killing Hanūman saying that messengers were immune from death and advises him to return to Sitā. Rāvana abuses Bibhīṣaṇa and orders Hanūman to be sent away after setting fire to his tail. Bibhīṣaṇa repeats his advice, but Rāvana accuses

him of siding with the enemy and orders his removal Bibhisana tells Ravana to suppress his anger and pass on and sets out to go to Rama (Act III)

Immediately on the return of Hanuman Sugriva prepares to start for Lanka and Rama Lakshmana Sugriva and Hanuman reach the shores along with the army Then enters Bibhisana who is introduced to Rama by Hanuman and at his counsel Rama hurls a missile at the ocean Varuna appears in human form and affords passage to the army by dividing into two The army crosses the ocean and encamps at Suvela Two spies are caught by Nila Commander in Chief of the Vanara forces who are recognised by Bibhisana as Ravana's ministers They are sent back with a message to Ravana after which Rama reviews the army (Act IV)

The interlude informs us of the serious reverses of the Rakshasa forces the deaths of Prahasta Kumbhakarna etc and of Indrajit's entry on the battlefield Ravana is still passionate and prepares artificial heads of Rama and Lakshmana The main scene opens with Ravana approaching Sita with the replicas of the heads She faints and asks to be killed with the same sword Message is brought that Indrajit has been killed and that the Rakshasa army is in flight Enraged Ravana rises quickly to go against Rama with a sword but is prevented by his servant he then sets out to kill Sita as the cause of the whole misery but is dissuaded Then he starts for the battlefield in his chariot and Sita offers prayers for the victory of Rama (Act V)

The interlude describes in detail the terrible fight

between Rāma and Rāvana as observed by three fairies, in which Rāvana is killed. The main scene opens with Rāma entering Lankā, and Laksmāna and Bībhīṣana inform him of Sītā's approach. Rāma refuses to see her as her long stay with the Rākṣasas was a stain. He, however, sanctions her request to enter fire. Agni guarantees the purity of Sītā and leads her to Rāma. Divine Gandharvas and Vidyādharas sing behind the curtain and Rāma and Sītā go in for their coronation. Then the consecrated Rāma re-enters with Sītā, and informs of his consecration at the hands of his father. Bharata, Śatru ghna, and the subjects as well as Mahendra and other gods come to greet Rāma. The usual epilogue comes at the end (Act VI).

Next, we come to a *Purāṇic* play, viz. *Bālacarita* dealing with the story of Kṛṣṇa. It is so named because it tells us of the various exploits (*carita*) of Kṛṣṇa when a child (*bala*).

The stage manager recites the benedictory stanza in praise of Nārāyaṇa, and begins to address the audience when Nārada, the lover of music and of feuds, descends the stage. He introduces us to Devakī carrying her newborn babe to Vasudeva, and makes his exit after circumambulating the Lord Nārāyaṇa. Then begins the main scene with Devakī and Vasudeva in which we are told that Kamsa has already killed six sons of Devakī. She entrusts the child to Vasudeva to be carried out of Mathura. It was midnight, pitch darkness, and Vasudeva finds his way through the light cast by the child. Yamunā is also in floods, but the waters divide affording him passage

While standing under the banyan tree in Gokula, Vasudeva finds his friend Nandagopa lamenting over the dead body of his baby daughter. After some persuasion, Nandagopa agrees to substitute Vasudeva's son for his dead child, but finds the former too heavy. The divine child then assumes its normal weight, and is greeted by Garuda and the five divine weapons on the stage who declare their intention of going to Gokula as herdsmen. After their disappearance, Nandagopa goes off to Gokula, and Vasudeva sets out to return to Mathurā, when he finds the little girl to be alive. So he decides to take her back to Devakī and comes back after crossing the river, the city gates and the prison walls (Act I)

Kamsa has strange visions, illusions and ill omens. Cāndālā women harass him, and Śāpa declares his intention to enter Kamsa's body, along with his associates. Rāmaśrī protests but retires on being told of Viṣṇu's command leaving Kamsa at the mercy of Śāpa and others. Kamsa suddenly wakes, calls his portress and finds that he was having bad dreams. He sends his chamberlain to the astrologers for interpreting the ill omens, and is told that they signify the birth of a divine being. Kamsa learns of the birth of a child to Devakī and sends for Vasudeva who tells a lie that Devakī gave birth to a female child. In spite of Devakī's protests, Kamsa decides to kill the child and dashes it against Kamsaśila. The child, however, bursts into two, one half falls to the ground and the other rises into the sky transformed into goddess Kārtiyāyānī. As Kārtiyāyānī she enters the stage with her divine weapons, all of whom

declare it as their mission to kill Kamsa and decide to proceed to Gokula as herdsmen. After their exit, the king goes out to offer *Śīnti* for warding off bad omens (Act II).

In the interlude an old herdsman informs us of some of the feats of Kṛṣṇa in Gokula which signalled happiness for the herdsmen. Killing of Putana Śakaṣa Yamala and Arjuna Dhenukā and Keśi were the exploits of the child who was named Damodara. Then Damodara comes out with his elder brother, Sankarṣaṇa for Hallīśaka dance with the Gopis. The dance however, is interrupted after a time by Aṣṭasabha coming as a wild bull. Sankarṣaṇa and others retire to a place nearby and watch the fight between Damodara and Aṣṭasabha in which Damodara slays the demon. News is then brought that Sankarṣaṇa has gone to the Yamunā on hearing that Kalyaṇa has come up there. Damodara decides to go himself against the lord of serpents. (Act III)

The next act describes the struggle of Dāmodara with Kalyaṇa in the Yamunā, which the cowherds and maidens watch from a distance. Kalyaṇa offers some resistance in the beginning, but is finally subdued in the fight and craves for mercy from the Lord. He is ordered to leave the waters of the Yamunā and accordingly he retires with his retinue. A messenger from Kamsa brings the news of the celebration of the Dhanurmahā festival at Mathura and invites all for the ceremony. Damodara and Sankarṣaṇa decide to start for Mathura in order to fulfil the divine mission of killing Kamsa. (Act IV)

Tales of Damodara's feats have reached the ears of

Kamsa and he is determined to have him and his brother Sankarsana smashed by his wrestlers. News is brought to the king of the entry of the two heroes into Mathurā, and of their taking the clothes from washermen, killing the elephant sent against them, curing the hunch-back maiden after taking perfumes, etc. from her, taking flowers from the florists, killing the guardian of the armoury, and breaking the bow kept there and going to the assembly hall. The king reminds the prize fighters of their duty, and they boast of their strength. Then begin duels of Cānūra and Mustika respectively with Dāmodara and Sankarsana in which the former meet their deaths. Dāmodara ascends the balcony, catches Kamsa by the hair and smashes him down to pieces. To the citizens who rise in arms, Vasudeva tells that both the youths are his sons. Ugrasena is released from the prison and is reinstated on the throne. Nārada comes in to worship Viṣṇu in the form of Dāmodara, and the latter offers him *arghya* and *pādya*. After paying his respects to the Lord, Nārada goes away. There is the usual epilogue at the end. (Act V)

Next, we come to folklore and romances comprising four plays.

AVIMĀRAKA In order to understand properly the plot of the *Avimārika*, the following relationships should be noted. King Kuntibhoja had two sisters named Sucetan and Sudarśanā, and two daughters, Kurangī and Sumitrā. Sudarśanā married Kāśirāja and had a son named Jayavarman, she had also a son born through Agni, who was adopted and brought up as Viṣṇusena by her sister.

Sucetana Sucetana married Sauvīraraja brother of Kuntibhoja's queen and had a son Vinusena as already stated, who was renamed Avimaraka.

The play receives its title from the name of the hero who is so named on account of his being the killer (*maraka*) of a demon in the form of sheep (*aṛi*).

The stage manager recites the benedictory stanza in praise of Nārāyaṇa and calls his mistress. The prelude informs us that princess Kurangī had entered the garden and that the elephant was in rut. The main scene opens with king Kuntibhoja in search of a suitable match for Kurangī and his queen and they have some discussion regarding Kurangī's marriage. Minister Kaunjayana enters dilating on the worries and dangers of his high office and brings news of the attack of the mad elephant on the princess and her rescue by an unknown handsome youth who professed to be low born. Another minister Bhutika next enters confirming Kaunjayana's account and states that he made enquiries about the youth and felt certain that he was not low born and was concealing his identity. He also learnt that the youth was unmarried and his father was noble and royal in appearance. The king orders further investigations to be made regarding the young man and resumes the subject of Kurangī's marriage. This time the king seeks the advice of his ministers. In the course of conversation it transpires that out of the several suitors Kaśiraja and Sauvīraraja were related to the royal family the latter being in addition the queen's brother. Sauvīraraja had sent an envoy but later on both the king and the prince were rei-

to have disappeared. In the meantime, Kāśirāja had sent an envoy for his son Jayavarman. The king orders further investigations regarding Sauvīrarāja and postpones his decision regarding the choice of a bridegroom. Beating of the drum announces it time for the royal bath, and the king leaves referring to the heavy duties of the king. (Act I)

The interlude introduces us to Santusta, the jester companion of the hero, who tells us of the love lorn condition of Avimaraka. Santusta is fooled by a maid who disappears with his ring the scene being full of boisterous humour. The main scene opens with Avimāraka seated at home brooding over the beauty of the princess he rescued. The princess is also in a similar plight, and her nurse and maid decide to visit the young man's abode. Reassured of the youth's noble birth by a divine voice, they both find Avimaraka meditating on the princess, and tell him of the unhappy condition of the princess. They invite him to the Kanyapura in disguise at midnight, and tell him of the location of the palace. He asks them to await him at midnight and they depart. Avimāraka then tells Santusta of the whole affair and the latter desires to accompany him. Avimāraka however decides to go alone after meals. Night is fast approaching covering the world with darkness. (Act II)

In the next act is introduced Kuraṅgi with her maidens. The princess learns that the envoy from Kāśirāja has been sent back. Nalinikā, her maid, informs her that the youth will come at night. The princess then enters the inner apartment. Then Avimāraka enters in the guise of

a thief with a sword and rope. He is supposed to pass through the streets of the city, and in a long monologue he tells us of the city guards, music, market place, gaming house, etc. After reaching the palace walls, he climbs the wall with the help of his rope, and passing through Mandakinī, Dāruparvata and Upasthānagrha reaches the Kanyāpuraprāsāda, opening the mechanical door with the magic key. He dons his usual dress and appears before Nalinikā and the princess. Kurangī in her semi-drowsy state asks Nalinikā to embrace her, but the latter tells Avimāraka to embrace Kurangī. The princess feels abashed, but Avimāraka pacifies her. They both then are led to the sleeping chamber. (Act III.)

The interlude informs us that Avimāraka's secret stay lasted but for a short time and everything was discovered. Avimāraka made good his escape which rendered the princess broken-hearted. Her maids however, share in her sorrow. The main scene opens with Avimāraka troubled mentally at his sad lot and physically by excessive heat. Thoughts of suicide enter his mind and he throws himself in front of the forest fire, but the fire does not burn him. Then after bath and meditation he decides to throw himself from the precipice, but is diverted at the last moment by a Vidyādhara couple who has come there for rest from Himālayas *en route* to the Malaya Mts. The Vidyādhara comes to know everything about Avimāraka through his magical science. They become friends and the Vidyādhara gives him a magic ring in order that he may enter the impenetrable Kanyāpura by becoming invisible. The magic ring was capable of

rendering invisible its wearer and the person who touched him. The couple then leaves for Agastya worship and Avimaraka starts for Vairantya. On the way he finds his friend Santusta searching for him. Avimaraka tells him of his acquisition and becoming invisible by the magic ring they forthwith enter the palace. (Act IV)

Kurangi is feeling grieved and despondent at the separation and goes to the terrace with Nalinika to get some relief. Avimaraka enters with Santusta and finds her much emaciated. Kurangi sends her maid away under some pretext and tries to hang herself but is frightened by terrible thunder and lightning and cries out for help. Avimaraka at once puts on the ring and consoles and embraces her. There is an amusing little scene between Santusta and Nalinika to relieve the tense atmosphere and both are tactfully sent away by Avimaraka leaving the lovers to themselves. Avimaraka extols the beauty of the rain clouds and when it actually begins to shower in plenty the lovers retire inside for amorous sports. (Act V)

The interlude tells us that Kuntibhoja intended to give Kurangi in marriage to Visnusenra, son of Sauvīrarāja but as both were not heard of for one year and a Kāśirāja had sent an envoy arrangements were made for Kurangi's marriage with Kāśirāja's son and the marriage party had arrived. That very day Kuntibhoja learns from his spies that Sauvīrarāja was staying in his capital for one year. The main scene opens with Kuntibhoja, Sauvīrarāja and minister Bhutika. Sauvīrarāja is grieving over the loss of his son and tells the story of his

curse One day while hunting he came across Candabhārgava whose pupil was mauled by a tiger Despite explanations of the king, the sage blamed him The king lost his temper and called the sage a Śvapāka² This infuriated the sage all the more and he cursed him to be an outcast for one year Then Sauviraraja tells them how prince Visnusena came to be called Avimaraka, on account of his slaying, when quite a boy, a demon in the form of sheep Kuntibhoja says that his secret service has not been able to trace Avimaraka Then the divine sage Nārada arrives on the scene He calls in Sudarśanā and tells those present of the Gāndharva marriage of Avimāraka with Kurangī, who was in the same house Nārada is told of the proposed marriage of Kurangī with Sudarśanā's son Jayavarman Then Nārada explains to Sudarśana the divine birth of Avimāraka born of Agni to Sudarśana herself, but adopted and brought up as Sauvira prince Visnusena by her sister Sucetana queen of Sauvīrārāja He also tells her of the curse, the elephant episode and other incidents already related Nārada finds an agreeable solution for the difficulty arising out of the marriage of Avimāraka with Kurangī he suggests that Kurangī's younger sister Sumitrā should be offered to Jayavarman This satisfies all The usual prayers for the protection of cows, etc occur at the end (Act VI)

Then we come to the *Pratiññāyāugandharayana* and *Svapnavasavadatta* which deal with king Udayana Vatsarāja, the Prince Arthur of Indian Literature Udayana Vatsarāja was the descendant of the Pāndavas and was ruling at Kauśāmbī Expert in music and fond

Commander-in Chief of Pradyota, with the news, and that Vatsarāja has also asked him to see Yaugandharāyana. The news of Vatsarāja's capture sends the queen mother and the harem to grief. Yaugandharāyana solemnly vows to restore his master to Kauśambī. A servant brings some clothes said to belong to a Brahmana at the *Śānti* festival, who vanished after leaving the clothes. Yaugandharāyana dons them, finds his outward form changed, and decides to work in that guise for releasing his master. He finally goes to see the queen mother in answer to her call (Act I).

The interlude tells us of the arrival of many messengers from various kings to Pradyota for Vasavadattā's hand, and of Pradyota's indecision in the matter. Then opens a domestic scene in the palace at Ujjayinī where the king explains the reasons for his not making up his mind as he wanted the suitor to have high family, soft heart, fine body, valour, etc. Then he has a talk with the queen and seeks her advice as to the choice. The queen gives the simple reply "Give her where you won't have any cause to rue afterwards." The king then enumerates the various suitors and asks her, "Which of these would you choose for Vāsavadatta?" Abruptly a chamberlain bursts in with the words "Vatsarāja" and gives an account of the capture of Vatsarāja. The king is extremely delighted and orders reception and good treatment to the royal captive. They decide to make the present of the celebrated lute *Ghoṣavatī*, the emblem of victory, to princess Vāsavadattā. The king begins to waver in his decision about suitors and goes to comfort and soothe

Vatsarāja (Act II)

The third act is the pivot of the whole play, telling of the secret plot of Yaugandharāyana. Yaugandharāyana, Rumanvan and Vasantaka stay in disguise in Ujjayinī respectively as a madman, a Buddhist monk and a mendicant. They hold conferences in a secret Fire Shrine. Vasantaka appears as a mendicant worrying about sugar balls, then comes a madman, and last a Buddhist monk, all gather in the Fire Shrine. Yaugandharāyana then tells them that every item of the plot was ready. The plot was to infuriate the female elephant so that Vatsarāja's help may be sought, and he was thereafter to mount the elephant and ride away to Kauśāmbī. Vasantaka, however, tells them of Udayana's love at first sight for Vāsavadattā and of his consequent unwillingness to go without her. They have to modify their plans, and Yaugandharāyana pronounces his second vow of carrying away Vāsavadattā as well. The trio then leave the Fire Shrine by different doors, the madman going on gibbering to the boys in the street. (Act III)

The interlude presents a humorous scene in which an intoxicated page, really a Vatsa spy, describes how he pawned Bhadrāvati. After hearing of the escape of Vatsarāja with Vāsavadattā the page casts away his disguise and encourages the Vatsa soldiers by war songs, and describes the valour of Yaugandharāyana who is subsequently taken captive. Then enter two warriors announcing the capture of Yaugandharāyana and asking the people to keep away. Then enter the two rival ministers, Bharatarohaka and Yaugandharāyana, enjoying

some war of words. The former charges Yaugandharāyana with deceit, but the latter replies that he paid in the same coin. To his further remarks, Yaugandharayana replies that Vatsaraja had contracted a marriage with Vasavadattā. A chamberlain comes with the present of a gold chalice from king Mahāsena to Yaugandharāyana. News is brought that the marriage was acceptable to Mahāsena, and that it was decided to celebrate the marriage by means of painted portraits of the lovers. Towards the close of the play there is the usual Bharatavākya praying for the prosperity of cows, vanquishing of the foreign invasion, and ruling of the whole earth by our king (Act IV).

SVAPNAVĀSAVADATTA After eloping with Vāsavadattā as told in the *Pratijñā*, Vatsaraja neglected his state affairs which enabled Āruni, a forest chieftain, to invade the Vatsa kingdom. The ever watchful Yaugandharāyana found that the only way out of the difficulty was an alliance with the powerful Magadha king, and the best remedy was Udayana's marriage with Padmāvatī, the Magadhi princess. Udayana himself, on account of his love for Vāsavadattā and the Magadha king on account of Udayana being a married man, would have objected to such a marriage. So Yaugandharāyana arranges a plot and takes Vasavadattā in confidence. In accordance with the plot, the royal pavilion at Lavānaka is burnt down in the absence of the king on hunting and Vasavadatta and Yaugandharāyana are supposed to have been burnt to death. They, however, start for Rājagṛha.

The play receives its title from the vision (*Swapna*) of

Vasavadatta which king Udayana gets in his semi drowsy state described in the Vth Act of the play

After benedictory stanza containing the names of the chief *dramatis personae* some noise from behind the curtain is heard made by Padmavati's attendants in asking the people to clear away. The main scene opens at the hermitage near Rajagrha where princess Padmavati has come to visit the queen mother. Yaugandharayana and Vasavadatta disguised as a Brahmana and his sister pass by the hermitage. Padmavati proclaims her desire of granting boons to those desiring them. Yaugandharayana presents himself as a suppliant and desires to keep Vasavadatta under Padmavati's care for a time. Despite her chamberlain's protests Padmavati accepts the guardianship of Vasavadatta. A Brahmana student from Lavanaka then enters and tells the story of the disastrous fire at Lavanaka and of the king's immense grief at the loss of Vasavadatta and Yaugandharayana. Vatsiraja's excessive love for Vasavadatta appeals to all. The student then leaves as it was evening and Yaugandharayana follows suit. Both Padmavati and Vasavadatta salute the queen mother and receive suitable blessings from her. (Act I)

The interlude tells us that Vasavadatta is well established at Magadha and that the princess is playing ball with her maids and Vasavadatta. The main scene opens after their game with Padmavati and her maids in conversation. Padmavati shows her disinclination towards Mahasena, son and love for Udayana, owing to the latter's genuine love for Vasavadatta. Then the news of Padmavati's betrothal to Udayana is announced which is said to have

been accepted by Udayana on account of pressure from Darśaka. It is told that the Kautukamangala (tying the nuptial thread) is to be celebrated that very day. Vāsavadattā is discomfited, but has to accompany Padmāvatī. The more they hasten, says she, the more is my heart covered, as it were with darkness. (Act II)

The next scene opens the same day in the pleasure garden of Padmāvatī where Vāsavadattā is the lonely occupant with her grieved heart, while preparations for the marriage are being made in the royal household. A maid requests Vāsavadattā to plait a nuptial wreath for her husband's second marriage. Another maid comes after a time for the garland as the bridegroom was being conducted to the inner apartments. Vāsavadatta hands over the finished garland and retires if perchance she can ease her grief on her bed. (Act III)

The interlude informs us of the conclusion of the marriage festivities. The main scene opens with Padmāvatī, her maids and Vasavadattā in the pleasure garden to see whether the Śephālikā clusters have blossomed. They talk about Udayana and his love for Vāsavadattā. The king and Vidūsaka also enter the garden from the other end, the former brooding over the sweet memories of the past in company with Vāsavadattā, the latter trying to soothe him and divert his mind. At their approach, Padmāvatī and her retinue hide under a bower for the sake of Vāsavadattā, as she avoided the sight of strangers. On account of the scorching heat, the king and Vidūsaka prepare to enter the bower, but the swarm of bees let loose by a maid prevent their entry. They, therefore, seat

some questions in sleep and she replies him. Finally the king proffers his hand to ask forgiveness from her. Afraid of being recognised Vasavadatta goes away after keeping in position the hand that was hanging loose. Her touch awakens the king and he follows her saying 'Stop Vasavadatta stop!' but he runs against a door. He relates this to Vidusaka who next enters but the latter calls it all a dream. News is then brought that Rumanvan has brought a large army to defeat Aruni and Udayana leaves to take charge of the attack. (Act V)

The interlude informs that the Vatsa Kingdom has been recovered and that Udayana's grief has again been renewed by the sight of the famous lute Ghosavati. In the main scene with Vidusaka the king mourns the loss of Vasavadatta recalling happy memories of the past. Messengers from Ujjayini arrive to offer felicitations of Mahasena on Udayana's victory. The king calls in Padmavati and again grieves over Vasavadatta. The messengers console him and show him the portraits of Vasavadatta and himself which were used in celebrating their marriage at Ujjayini. Padmavati notices the similarity of Avantika with the portrait of Vasavadatta and tells the king about her. Then Yaugandharayana enters as a Brahmana to reclaim his sister. Avantika is brought out and is recognised as Vasavadatta. Yaugandharayana explains his whole plot and states the recovery of Kauśambi to be his main object. The king decides to go with Padmavati to Mahasena to convey the happy news of the recovery of Vasavadatta. The normal epilogue comes at the end. (Act VI)

character. His wife however sacrifices her pearl necklace as a compensation to Vasantasena. Maitreya is sent to Vasantasena with the pearl necklace. (Act III)

Love torn Vasantasena engages in painting the figure of Carudatta and rejects the offer of ornaments from Śakara which her mother sends her. Then enters Sajjalaka the thief stating that he needed the money to buy freedom for his beloved Madanika the maid of Vasantasena. He tells the story of his crime to Madanika and she recognises the stolen ornaments as belonging to her mistress. She advises him to return the jewellery to Vasantasena in the name of Carudatta.

In the meantime Maitreya comes with the pearl necklace saying that it was sent in exchange for the pledged ornaments which Carudatta had lost in gambling. Vasantasena accepts the necklace and Maitreya leaves with scant courtesy for Vasantasena.

Then Sajjalaka enters with the jewellery pretending to have come as Carudatta's messenger. Vasantasena lends her maid with the jewellery, places her hand in that of her burglar lover and sends them off in a carriage to marry.

Then Vasantasena prepares to visit Carudatta in order to return the necklace. The clouded sky and a threatening storm however make her dwindle and impatient and she at once proceeds to her lover and the play abruptly ends at this point. (Act IV)

missiles. The plays will also be found to be deficient if judged by modern critical standards with regard to the plot characterization sentiments and other niceties.

SOURCES OF THE PLAYS In the last chapter we have given the plots of these plays without omitting any important detail from them. These will enable readers to understand easily the sources of the plays and the innovations brought out by the poet with which we are dealing at present.

To turn to the *Mahābhārata* plays first it is seen that the poet is much indebted to the epic. In the One Act plays some short episode is taken from the *Mahābhārata* and freely dramatized. In the *Madhyamavyayoga* there is a blending of the story of the reunion of Bhīma and Hidimba with that of the Brahmanas. The latter finds its source in the Śunahṣepakhyaṇa of the *Aitareya Brahman* and the former is the poet's own creation, the epic supplying him only with characters and atmosphere. In the *Dūtāśyā* the embassy of Kṛṇa spoken of in the *Mahābhārata* (Udyogaparvan 94 95 124 131) has been dramatized to glorify Kṛṇa and proclaim his identity with Viṣṇu. Duryodhana is depicted as the real emperor in the drama whereas Dhṛtiraṣṭra was the emperor in the epic. The scene of the divine weapons appearing in human form is a speciality of Bhasa employed probably to cater for public tastes. For the *Dūtāśyā* the poet is indebted to the epic for characters only, everything else being the fruit of the poet's imagination and invention. The *Kaṇvaśyā* mainly follows the epic (Karna 4th Santi 23). The poet has transferred the incident of

Karna's gift of his armour to Indra from the forest (*Vana*, 310, *Śānti* 5) to the battlefield in order to heighten effect and has ennobled the characters of Karna and Śalya. The *Urubhanga* dramatizes *Śalyaparvan* 56-58 with slight changes invented by the poet, such as the secret sign to Bhīma comes through Kṛṣṇa in the play whereas the epic speaks of Arjuna as throwing the hint, according to the epic, Balarāma was not present at the club fight nor were Dhiṣṭarāṣṭra Gāndhārī, Durjaya and the queens of Duryodhana on the battlefield. The poet shows Duryodhana on a higher plane. The *Pañcaratra* in three Acts has for its basis the cattle raid (*Mbh*, *Virāṭa* 35-69) slaughter of Kicakas (*ib* 22-24) and marriage of Abhimanyu with Uttarā (*ib* 71-72) as told in the epic. The poet has taken considerable liberties with the epic story, and the sacrifice of Duryodhana his promise to grant half kingdom to Pāṇḍavaḥ on their news coming, within five nights made to Drona Abhimanyu's siding with Duryodhana, the scene between Bhīma Abhimanyu and Bhīṣmānālā are among the main scenes or events invented and introduced by the poet. Thus in the *Mahābhārata* plays though the epic serves as the main source, the poet shows his originality at various places in inventing new situations and episodes or in investing the epic heroes with new characteristics.

In view of the date we assign to Bhāsa the *Haritaṃśa Vṛṣṇu Purāṇa* or *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* cannot be taken to be the sources of the *Bhāgavata* as none of these texts at least in their present form is older than Bhāsa. Further the drama widely differs in detail from the stories of

Kṛṣṇa in the *Harṇamśa*. The poet's source probably was an earlier version of the Kṛṣṇa story on which the *Harṇamśa* and the *Purāṇas* are based. The *Bāla-carita* presents, in common with the *Dūtātākya*, the divine weapons in human form.

For the story of the *Pratimā*, the poet is indebted to the II and III books of the *Rāmāyana*, but he builds a superstructure of his own. The introduction of the *talkala* incident, the statue houses, the changed genealogy of Rāma, the abduction of Sītā by bringing Rāma and Rāvana (under the guise of an expert on *Śrāddha*) together and making the golden deer necessary for the *Śrāddha*, and the absence of Lakṣmaṇa at the time, and Rāma's coronation in the penance grove are the main departures of the poet from the epic. The characters of Rāma, Sītā, Daśaratha, Bharata, Kaikeyī and Sumantra are portrayed in a favourable light and on a higher level. The *Abhiseka* deals with the epic story as given in the IV, V, VI books of the *Rāmāyana* which the poet follows very closely. The manner in which the waters of the ocean divide to afford passage to the Lord is the poet's own invention reminiscent of the similar device in the *Bāla-carita*.

As regards the sources of the *Atimāṛaka*, they have variously been stated to be folklore, poet's invention, Kathā literature or the story of the spirit of monsoon destroying the demon of drought.² A comparison of the stories as given in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, *Jayamangalī Tīkā* (or *Vṛtsayāna's Kūmasūtra*), a Buddhist *Jātaka* and the *Atimāṛaka* shows that the *Jayamangalī* follows the

for *iraka* in some respects. It appears that the *Jātaka* story must have been current among the people at the time of Bhāsa and he probably used it as the main story. The supernatural element of the ring incident has been added to the story by the poet for popular appeal.

The *Bṛhata'ka'hī* cannot be the source of the Udayana plays, viz. the *Svapna āsaradatta* and *Pratīyā*, because not only does the date of the *Bṛhatakathā* conflict with the antiquity we assign to Bhāsa but there are many discrepancies between the legends given in both versions. Thus, e.g. there is a change in the elephant episode. Pradyota Maahasena of Bhāsa has been differentiated into Pradyota of Magadha and Mahasena of Avantī by the *Bṛhatakathā* (as judged by its descendents the *Bṛhatakathī* *marjari* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara*) which strikes out Daraka. The genealogy of Udayana is different in both, there is no reference to Āruni in the *Bṛhatakathī*. OCBEN⁴ holds Pīṣa to be more faithful to the Udayana legend than the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. The plays deal with historical personages referable to the 6th or 5th century B.C. and as Bhāsa flourished shortly after the period (c. 4th cent. B.C.) he probably employed the stories about Udayana current in his time.

No definite source has been found for the *Cāruḍatta*. The story of the love of a hetaira for a merchant being a common topic in literature it may be the poet's invention. It is not unlikely that the poet may have used the *Sundarikathā* from the *Jātakas*. Śikṛā with his mannerisms is the invention of Bhāsa.

SENTIMENTS The main aim of the Sanskrit drama

was, as already stated to convey a moral by evoking a particular sentiment in the mind of the audience and thus leading them to unmixed joy, and plot, characterization etc., occupy a subsidiary place in the scheme. There is a difference of opinion among writers on Sanskrit poetics with regard to the number of sentiments, but following the standard work of Viśvanatha, we take the number of sentiments to be nine and illustrate them from the works of Bhāsa in the order of their enumeration in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*.

Bhāsa does not employ the premier sentiment of Śṛṅgāra to any appreciable extent and his works serve as the best illustration of the futility of the dictum that a drama cannot be shown at its best without Śṛṅgāra as the dominant sentiment. All the five sub-varieties of Śṛṅgāra viz., Dharma Kāma Artha Mugdha and Mūḍha, are illustrated in Bhāsa. The love of Rāma and Sītā depicted in the *Pratimā* and *Abhiseka* is an instance of Dharma Śṛṅgāra or pure love free from lust, for the sake of discharging religious duties of life. Kāma Śṛṅgāra or married love with a strong erotic element is found in the love of Udayana and Vāsavadattā, and Avimāraka and Kurangī. The political marriage of Udayana with Padmāvatī in the *Sraṇa* serves as the best illustration of Artha Śṛṅgāra, marriage for political, economic or other expediences. The union of Bhīma and Hidimbā depicted in the *Madhyama* is Mugdha Śṛṅgāra in which physical aspect of love predominates. The Mūḍha Śṛṅgāra or idiotic love where lust alone matters is shown in the love of Śakīra for Vasantasenā in the *Cārudatta*.

Then comes Hāsya or the sentiment of humour (comic sentiment) and Bhāsa has already been described as the "laughter of poetry".³ There are numerous instances of Hāsya in the works of Bhāsa and we draw attention only to some leading illustrations. Santuṭṭi in the *Atantrika* and Śakūṭi in the *Cāruḍa*⁴ supply us with an amount of humour in the numerous situations in which they figure. The peculiar mannerisms and the use of Prakrit of the Brāhmaṇa (Indra in disguise) in the *Karnaśhira* provoke mirth as also the little scene between the stage manager and his mistress in the *Carudatta* where the latter tells her husband that everything was ready in the market and that her fast was for obtaining a handsome husband in the next birth. The Vidūṣakas in the *Śaṭpāṇa* and *Cāruḍatta* also create some funny atmosphere as also the intoxicated page in the *Pratijñā*. Sujñāka, the Brāhmaṇa burglar, supplies some humour by saying that his sacred thread serves as a measuring tape by night. There are various instances of dramatic ironies which may also be included under Hāsya.

Next is Raudra or sentiment of fury which is found in Bhīma's encounter with Ghatotkaca in the *Madhyama* visions of Kamsa in the *Balacarita* consisting of explosions etc. Balarama's anger against Bhīma at his unfair fight with Duryodhana in the *Ūrubhanga*. Bharata's disowning his mother in the *Pratijñā* etc.

✓ Then we come to Vīra or the heroic sentiment which is the special *forte* of Bhāsa. Instances are found in almost all plays of our group. Vīra has been subdivided into Yuddha (courage) Dharma (virtue) and Daya (compassion). Yuddha Vīra is exhibited in the battles of Rāma and Ravana, Duryodhana and Bhīma, Udayana and Mahasena's army, Uttara and Kuru army, Abhimanyu and Virata army, etc. and also in the descriptions of fight in the *Dūtāghatōkaca* of the various weapons of Kṛṣṇa in the *Dūtākya* etc. Duryodhana in the *Pāncarātra* in parting with half his kingdom to the Pandavas in pursuance of his promise to Drona exemplifies the Dharma Vīra and so does Rāma in abandoning the kingdom in accordance with his father's wishes. Drona's compassion for the Kauravas and his desire to save them from destruction makes him beg for half the kingdom for the Pandava from Duryodhana as his *Dakṣiṇī* which serves as an illustration of Daya Vīra. Karna's offer of his armour to Indra in the *Karnabhara* is another illustration. (I may be pointed out here that in the *Pratijñā* the poet has harmoniously blended the Vīra and Śṛṅgāra Rasas by Yaugandharayana's supporting the love affair of his master.

♣ Bhīṣanaka or the sentiment of terror is found in the

Madhyama when the Brahmana family finds itself suddenly confronted by a demon also in Ravana's assuming demonical form before Sita in the *Pratima* and in the scene after Indrajit's death in the *Abhiseka* in the killing of Kamsa by pulling him by the hair in the *Balacarita* in the various trials through which *Aṣṭamaraka* passes before he goes to Kanyapura in the description of the battle field in the *Urubhanga* etc

✓ *Adbhuta* or the sentiment of wonder has been exhibited in a number of these plays. It is found in the appearance in human form of the divine weapons in the *Dutakya* and the *Balacarita* in the supernatural feats of Kṛṣṇa related in the *Balacarita* in the magic ring given by the Vidyadhara to Avimaraka in the appearance of Varuna and Agni in the *Abhiseka* and in the fire ordeal in the same play etc

In connection with the sentiment of wonder we may note that magic in three different forms has been effectively used by Bhāsa viz (i) by employing objects materials or persons endowed with magic power (ii) the curse of a Rsi and (iii) the optical illusions. Instances of the first type are the magic ring given by the Vidyadhara to Avimaraka which was capable of rendering invisible the wearer and any person who touched him the apparel left by Vyasa in the *Pratijna* is said to transform the outward men of the wearer production of water by Bhīma and Ghatotkaca for chanting *Mantras*. The curse pronounced by Candabhargava on the Sauvira king in the *Aṣṭamaraka* is the instance of the second type. The optical illusion of Duryodhana when he sees Kṛṣṇa everywhere and of

Rāma when he sees a gold flanked deer, serve to illustrate the third type

✓Śānta or the sentiment of calm is found in the general devotion for Nārāyaṇa Viṣṇu in the *Bālacarita*, as also in the utterances of Karna that everything else but sacrifices and gifts is evanescent, and that he has really deceived Indra. We meet with Śānta when Rāma knows of the purity of Vaidehī in the *Abhiseka* when Sitā tells Rāma to perform *Śrāddha* by the material available in forest, etc. Closely allied with Śānta is Bhakti (devotion), and we get instances of three of its types in these plays. Thus the devotion of one in distress is illustrated in the benedictory stanza of the *Urubhanga* and that of the seeker after knowledge in the first stanza of the *Dūtaghatokaca*, the praise which the Vidyādharaṣ offer in the *Abhiseka* shows the devotion of the wise

✓ Finally, we come to Vatsala, of which we get fine specimens in Bhāsa. The love of Bhīma for Ghatotkaca in the *Madhyama* of Arjuna and Bhīma for Abhimanyu in the *Pañcarātra*, of Daśaratha for Rāma, Lakṣmana and Sitā in the *Pratimā*, of Rāvana for Indrajit in the *Abhiseka* and of Duryodhana for his son in the *Urubhanga* come under the Vatsala. The love of the jester-companions for Cārudatta, Avimāraṇa and Udayana may also be included in this category.

Considering the individual plays, it may be observed that the main sentiments in the *Dūlavākya* are the Vīra and Adbhuta, and those in the *Dūtaghatokaca* are Karuṇa and Vīra, which dominate also the *Karṇabhāra* and *Urubhanga*. The *Pañcarātra* concerns itself with the various

types of Vira In the *Madhyama* we find the play of Vira, Karuna, Adbhuta, Bhayānaka, Raudra, Hāsyā, Śrngāra and Vatsala, (while the *Bālacarita* employs all Rasas excepting the Śrngāra) The Rāma dramas have Vira, Karuna, Adbhuta and Bhayānaka In the *Avimāraka*, we get Śrngāra, Hāsyā, Karuna, Adbhuta and Bhayānaka³ The *Swapna* has Śrngāra and Karuna, and the *Pratijñā*, Vira, Adbhuta, Hāsyā and Śrngāra We get Karuna, Hāsyā and Śrngāra in the *Cārudatta* It appears that Bhāsa had a special liking for Vira, Hāsyā, Karuna, Raudra, Adbhuta and Vatsala Rasas —

CHARACTERIZATION - In comparing Bhāsa's works with temples, Bana has referred to the large number of characters used by Bhāsa⁶ There is not only a large number of characters but a very wide range and variety to be found in Bhāsa With all this, however, there is always the tendency to avoid adding needless characters on the stage, of which the omission of Kāśirāja and Sucetanā in the *Avimāraka*, of Udayana and Vasavadatta in the *Pratijñā* may be cited as instances Being a realist, Bhāsa portrays men and women of this world as they are In contrast to the general trend in Sanskrit drama to paint types and not individuals, Bhāsa is found to have portrayed living men and women, which he has drawn from all grades of society from the highest class to the lowest

The characters depicted include kings, queens, princes, princesses, ministers, jesters, chamberlains, door keepers, attendants, messengers, and other officers, burglars, villains and courtesans,—all these from the human beings, gods

and goddesses, fairies and divine sages, etc., from the divinities, demons, monkeys, etc., from the lower strata. Each one of these characters is so individual, yet so universal. Exquisite care is shown in the delineation of even minor characters. The characters never talk more or less. They live a plain, straightforward life. Most of the characters are psychological studies, and in psychological subtlety Bhāṣa is almost modern. The intricate inner workings of human emotions are shown directly in a flash, and no energy is wasted in describing the struggle in the minds of the characters. The true character of the selfless Vāsavadattā is admirably shown in *Stapna*, III.

The poet, being tied down to the epic for his *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyana* plays, was working under a handicap. In the *Pratimā*, however, he has shown the epic characters on a higher plane. Bhāṣa displays his skill at characterization in the legendary plays and romances. At his hands, the Vidūṣaka is seen without his gluttony which came to be associated with him in later dramas, and has become a constant companion and a helpmate of the hero. Padmāvatī and Vāsavadattā set an example to the co-wives by their sisterly regard for each other and sacrifice for their husband. Though required to marry again for political reasons, Udayana still cherishes sweet memories for his first wife. Yaugandharāyana is a clever, faithful, devoted minister, well versed in strategy, and more than a match for his rival. Vasantasenā is shown as an ideal courtesan, full of love and devotion for Cārudatta, who is portrayed as an ideal thoroughbred man of the town. The love between Avimāraka and Kurangī is not the

fleeting vagary of the flesh but constant and everlasting.

The characters of Bhasa thus are simple human and extremely life like they are not so romantic and imaginative as those of Kalidasa and Bana not so poetic and sentimental as those of Bhavabhuti not so vigorous as those of Bhaṭṭa Narayana not so fickle and fairylike as those of Śrī Harsa and not so humorous and realistic as those of Śudraka

DESCRIPTIONS AND NARRATIONS Predilection for certain descriptions has been observed as a common characteristic of these plays⁷ Bhasa is a close observer of nature and his descriptions of natural phenomena are interesting realistic and vivid He gives diverse details and various facts connected with the phenomenon that he portrays The sunset is pictured in all its details in *Śaṭpāṇa* I 16

सगा तसोपेता सलिलमगगो मुनिजन
प्रदातोऽग्निर्भाति प्रतिचरति धूमो मुनिजनम् ।
परिभ्रष्टो दूराद्रनिरपि च सक्षिप्तनिरणो
रथ व्यापार्यासौ प्रतिशति शनैरस्तशिखरम् ॥

The following description of sunset in *Abhiramika* IV 23 is also charming and true to nature

अस्ताक्षिमस्तनगत प्रतिसहनाशु
सन्ध्यानुसञ्चितनपु प्रतिभाति मूर्य ।
रक्तोज्ज्वलाशुनवृते द्विरदस्य कुम्भे
जाम्बूनदेन रचित पुष्को यथैव ॥

Sunset and the approach of night are beautifully described by the simile of Ardhanarisvara (*Atimarakā* II 12)

पूर्वा तु काष्ठा तिमिरानुलिप्ता
 सन्ध्यारुणा भाति च पश्चिमाशा ।
 द्विधा विभक्तान्तरमन्तरिक्ष
 यात्यर्थनारीश्वररूपशोभाम् ॥

A beautiful *Utpreksā* depicts the world as changing its dress as it were at the approach of night (*Avimāraḥ*, II 13)

व्यामृष्टसूर्यतिलको विततोडुमालो
 नष्टातपो मृदुमनोहरशीतवात ।
 संलीनकामुकजनः प्रविकीर्णशूरो
 वेपान्तर रचयतीव मनुष्यलोक ॥

Descriptions of night and darkness are a favourite subject of the poet, and are met with in *Avimāraḥ*, III 4, *Cārudatta* I 19 20 Rising and setting of the moon are described in the *Cārudatta*, I 29, III 3 Ram, thunder and rain clouds are beautifully depicted in the *Avimāraḥ* (V 6, 7) with some minute details

जलदसमयघोषणाडम्बरानेकरूपक्रियाजम्भका वज्रभृद्गृष्टयो
 भगणयवनिष्ठास्तटित्पद्मगीवासवल्मीकभूता नभोमार्गरूढक्षुपा ।
 मदनशरनिशानशैला प्ररुष्टाङ्गनासन्धिपाला गिरिस्त्रापनाम्भोधटा
 उदधिसलिलमैक्षहारा रवीन्द्रगला देवयन्त्रप्रपा भान्ति नीलगम्बुदाः ॥

Nature is again shown as sympathising with the observer and as wearing different aspects according to the moods and feelings of the observer Thus, on his way to meet Kurangī, *Avimāraḥ* finds the world wonderful (II 13)

But when disappointed and desperate, the same world,

burnt by the midday sun appears to him as swooning with its emaciated earth, consumptive trees, bewailing mountains, etc., and seems a boiling mass (IV. 4.5)

अव्युष्णा ज्वरितेव भास्करैरार्षातमाग मर्ही
यक्ष्मार्ता इव पादपाः प्रमुषितच्छया दवाग्न्याश्रयात् ।
विक्रोशन्त्यवशादिवोच्छ्रितगुहाव्यात्तानना. पर्वताः
लोकोऽयं रविपाकनष्टहृदयः संयाति मूर्च्छामिव ॥ ४ ॥
आदित्यपाकचलित. फलर्ताव लोकाः ॥ ५ ॥

A Vidyādhara couple was taking a bird's eye view of the earth at the same time, and to them it wore quite a different aspect. It appeared as if it had assumed a miniature form (IV. 11).

शैलेन्द्राः कलभोपमा जलधयः क्रांटातटाकोपमा
वृक्षाः शैवलसन्निभाः क्षितितलं प्रच्छन्ननिम्नस्थलम् ।
सामन्ता इव निम्नगाः सुविपुलाः सौधाश्च विन्दूपमा
दृष्टं वक्रमिवाभिभाति सकलं मंक्षिस्तरुणं जगत् ॥

Later on, however, when he is quite in a happy mood, nature evokes similes of love and amorous sport from *Amāra* (V. 7)

व्योमार्णवोर्मिमदृशा निनदन्ति मेघा
मेघप्ररोहसदृशाः प्रपतन्ति धाराः ।
रश्मोद्गनाभृकुटिवत् तडितः स्फुरन्ति
प्राप्तोऽप्रयौवनघनस्तनमर्दकालः ॥

Nature is thus shown as responding to the feelings of the observer

The description of a running chariot on its way to

Ayodhya is realistic (*Pratima* III 2)

द्रुमा वायन्तीं व द्रुतरथगतिक्षीणविषया
नदीनाद्वृत्ताम्बुनिपतति मही नेमिविभरे ।
अव्यक्तिर्नष्टा स्थितमिव जगच्चक्रप्रलय
रजश्चाधोऽधून पतति पुरतो नानुपतति ॥

Deserted Ayodhya is beautifully described thus
(*Pratima* II 2)

नागेन्द्रा यमसाभिलाषमिमुखा साक्षेक्षणा राजिनो
हेपाशून्यमुखा सबृद्धनिताबालाश्च पौरा जना ।
त्यक्ताहारकथा सुर्दानप्रदना क्रन्दन्त उच्चैर्दिशा
रामो याति यथा सदारसहजस्तामेव पश्यन्त्यमी ॥

The description of hermitage in the *Stapna* is striking
and true (I 12)

त्रिस्तब्ध हरिणाश्चरन्त्यचरिता देशागतप्रत्यया
वृक्षा पुष्पफलैः समृद्धमृष्टपा सर्वे दयारक्षिता ।
भूयिष्ठ नपिलानि गोकुलजनान्यक्षेत्रान्यो दिशो
नि सन्दिग्धमिदं तपोवनमथ धूमो हि ब्रह्माश्रय ॥

The flock of white cranes flying in the sky is very finely
described by the blending of *Upama*, *Utprekā* and
Sarabhavokti (*Stapna* IV -) पश्याम्येनाम्

अज्वायता च विरला च नतोन्नता च
सप्तार्धिप्रगुटिला च निवर्तनेष्टु ।
निर्मुच्यमानभुजगोदरनिर्मलस्य
सीमामित्राभ्यन्तरतलस्य विभयमानाम् ॥

We have a beautiful description of the ocean calm

here ruffled there as it stood parted affording passage to Rama (*Abhiseka* IV, 3 17)

क्वचित् पेनोद्वारा क्वचिदपि च मानासुत्तल
क्वचिच्छृङ्गामार्गं क्वचिदपि च नालाम्बुदनिभ ॥
क्वचिद् याचामाल क्वचिदपि च नक्रप्रतिभय
क्वचिद् भामावर्न क्वचिदपि च निष्प्रम्पसलिल ॥

The blue ocean with its foam and waves is thus described in the *Abhiseka* (IV 3)

सनलनलगेद्रनालनारो
त्रिलुलिनपेनतरङ्गचारहार ।
ममग्निगतनदीमहस्रगङ्गु-
हैरिग्नि भाति सग्निपति शयान ॥

Besides descriptions of nature we have vivid accurate realistic accounts of battle (cf *Abhiseka* VI 1 18 *Urubhanga* 16 26 etc) There is also a description of the sacrifice and the sacrificial fire in the opening stanzas of the *Laṅkāvatāra* at another place there is a perfect simile comparing war with sacrifice (*Urubhanga* 6)

अग्निरग्न्यपो प्राणानिन्यस्तदर्भो
हतगजचयनोच्चो वैरगहिप्रदाप्त ।
व्यनत्रिततन्निनान सिद्धनादोच्चमन्त्र
पतितपतिमनुष्य सरिथतो युद्धयज्ञ ॥

Then there are descriptions of Lanka Varanasi Ujjayini and Mathura in various plays of this group (*Abhiseka Avimiraka Pratijñā* and *Balacarita*)

The poet's power of graphic narration and vivid description of episodes events and characters without

depicting them or bringing them on the stage is exemplified in the *Pratijna* where in the First Act an account is given of the capture of Udayana also in the later Acts despite the non appearance of Udayana and Vasavadatta on the stage we get vivid accounts of the scenes in the prison and at the worship of Yaksini in the *Śāpna* in the First Act the student gives a picture of Udayana's lament etc

✓ All these descriptions pronounce Bhasa to be a realist pure and simple he does not go beyond enumeration of the facts constituting the particular scenes places or action he desires to portray No flights of imagination are to be met with in Bhasa His sense of tact is much more stronger than his imagination which would be apparent when we compare Bhasa's descriptions with those in Kalidasa Hra etc

ĀLANKĀRAS SUBHASITAS AND BEAUTIES FROM BHĀSA In the domain of Ālankāras (figure of speech) we find that Bhasa mainly concerns himself with the simple figures such as the Upama Utprekṣa Rūpaka Arthantaranyasa Svabhavokti Atisayokti etc We shall first give select examples of some Ālankāras from these plays then will follow beauties from Bhasa in which some admirable stanzas and choice expressions have been included finally a few of the Subhasitas from the various plays have been given at random

The Lurnopama bringing together various aspects of the battlefield in comparison with the ocean with its waters waves crocodiles etc is worth noting (*Abhiseka* VI 2)

रजनिचरगरीरनीरर्षीणां
 नपिरर्षीचियुता नगसिनका ।
 उदधिरिव निभाति युद्धभूर्मा
 रघुरचन्द्रशराशुबृद्धवेगा ॥

The simile comparing heroic Karna overwhelmed with grief with the sun covered by clouds is finely expressed (*Karna* 4)

अयुप्रदासिनिशद समेऽप्रगण्य
 शौर्ये च सप्रति सजोऽमुपैति गमान् ।
 प्राप्ते निदाघसमये घनगगिरद्व
 मूर्धे स्वभावरचिमानिव भाति कर्ण ॥

✓ The beautiful description of evening in which the sky is said to have assumed the splendour of Ardhanaresvara is already quoted earlier. This description from the *Virudatta* brings the various aspects of darkness (I 20)

✓ सुलभशरणमाश्रयो भयाना नगहन निमिः च तुल्यमेव ।
 उभयमपि हि रक्षतेऽन्यकागे जनयति यश्च भयानि यश्च भान् ॥

also *Atimaraka* III 4

✓ निमिगमिव ग्रहन्ति मार्गनद्य पुलिननिभा प्रतिभान्ति हर्म्यमात्रा ।
 तमसि दश दिशो निमग्नरूपा पृथग्गर्णीय इवायमन्यका ॥

The different aspects of the bark garments (*talkalas*) as required in different circumstances are expressed by a Malaparamparita Rupaka (*Pratima* I 28)

तपःमङ्गलमकृतच नियमद्विगुण्डाङ्ग ।
 गरीनमिन्द्रियाश्चाना गृह्यता धर्ममागयि ॥

The *valkalas* furnish us with yet another figure Sasandeha, by creating an illusion of the rays of the sun (*Pratimā*, I 9)

— आदर्शे बल्कलानीव निमित्ते भूर्यरश्मयः ॥

The similarity of forms creates doubt in Iakṣmaṇa's mind giving us an instance of Sasandeha (*Pratimā*, IV 8)

मुखमनुपम त्वार्यस्याभं शशाङ्कमनोहर
मम पितृसम पीन वक्ष सुरारिशरक्षतम् ।
धुनिपरिवृतस्तेजोराशिर्जगत्प्रियदर्शनो
नरपतिरय देवेन्द्रो वा स्वय मधुसूदनः ॥

The beautiful, realistic and vivid description of the ocean with its component parts is effected by means of the Upamā and Rūpaka (*Abhiseka*, IV 3) and Rūpaka (*Abhiseka*, IV 18) which have already been quoted in an earlier section

There are beautiful similes comparing the battlefield to the hermitage (*Ūrubhanga*, 4) and sacrifice (*Ūrubhanga* 6) of which the latter is already quoted

वैरस्यायतन ब्रह्मस्य निरुप मानप्रतिष्ठागृह
युद्धेष्वप्सरसा स्वयंवरसभा शौर्यप्रतिष्ठा नृणाम् ।
राज्ञा पश्चिमक्रान्तवाराशयन प्राणाग्निहोमक्रतु
सप्राप्ता रणसङ्गमाश्रमपद राज्ञां नभ सक्रमम् ॥

The dignity and efficacy of labour are effectively told by Arthantaranyāsa and Aprastutaprasāmsā emphatically stating that nothing is impossible for an energetic person starting on right lines (*Pratijñā*, I 18)

काष्ठादग्निर्जायते मथ्यमानाद्

भूमिस्तोय खन्यमाना ददानि ।
 सोमाहाना नास्यसाध्य नराणा
 मार्गारब्धाः सर्वयनाः फलन्ति ॥

The grief of the Brāhmaṇa at the loss of his middle son is described by the fusion of Rūpaka and Atiśayokti (*Madhyama*, 23) :

यस्त्रिशृङ्गो मम त्वार्सान्मनोज्ञो वशपर्यंत ।
 स मय्यशृङ्गभङ्गेन मनस्तपति मे भृशम् ॥

✓The signs from which the burglar infers the person to be really asleep serve to illustrate the Anumāna (*Cārudatta*, III 13)

निःश्वासोऽस्य न शङ्कितो न त्रिपमस्तुल्यान्तरं जायते
 गात्र मन्विषु दीर्घतामुपगत शय्याप्रमाणविभ्रम् ।
 दृष्टिर्गाढनिर्मालिता न चपल पद्मान्तर जायते
 दांप चैव न मर्षयेदभिमुखः स्याल्लक्षसुप्तो यदि ॥

There are some very fine illustrations of Swabhāvokti, which appears to have been a favourite figure of Bhāsa (*Śaṭpāṇa* I 12, 13, IV 2, V 3 4, *Pratimā*, II 8, III 3, *Abhiseka* II 21) Some of these have been quoted elsewhere in this Chapter

Bharata's anticipations as to what he would find after reaching Avodhyā also illustrate Swabhāvokti (*Pratimā* III 3)

पतितमिव शिरः पितुः पादयोः स्निह्यतेनास्मि राज्ञा ममुयापितः
 त्रितमुपगता द्वे भ्रातरः कलेदयन्तीय मामश्रुभिर्मान्तर ।
 मदश्रमिति महानिति व्यायतश्चेति भृत्यैरिवाह स्तुतः सेवया
 परिहमिति गन्तव्यमस्तत्र पश्यामि त्रेष च भाषा च सौमित्रिणा ॥

The stanza describing the intense grief of Vatsarāja at the loss of Vāsavadattā and stating that on account of her husband's love, she is regarded as unburnt though burnt is a fine instance of Svabhāvokti and Virodhābhāsa (*Śaṭpāṇa*, I 13)

नैवेदानीं तादृशाश्चक्रवाका
नैवाप्यन्ये स्त्रीविशेषैर्वियुक्ता ।
धन्या सा स्त्री या तथा वेत्ति भर्ता
भर्तृस्नेहात् सा हि दग्धाप्यदग्धा ॥

Vatsarāja's grief finds its expression in various figures like Smarana (*Śaṭpāṇa* V 5) Viśama and Arthāntaranyāsa (ib IV 6) Upamā Viśeṣokti and Vibhāvanā (ib V 1) Atiśyokti and Utprekṣā (ib IV 1) Only a couple of these are quoted below

स्मराम्यवन्त्याधिपते सुतायाः
प्रस्थानकाले स्वजन स्मरन्त्या ।
वाप्य प्रवृत्त नयनान्तलम्न
स्नेहान्ममैवोरासि पातयन्त्याः ॥ ११ ॥
कामेनोज्जयिनीं गते मयि तदा कामप्यवस्था गते
दृष्ट्वा स्वैरभवन्तिराजतनया पञ्चैषव पातिताः ।
तैर्गद्वापि सगल्यमेव हृदय भूयश्च विद्धा वय
पञ्चैर्बुर्मदनो यदा कथमय पष्ट शरः पातितः ॥ ४१ ॥

Dasaratha's grief at the exile of Rama expresses itself in his complaint against Destiny in not making him childless, Rama the son of another king and Kaikeyī a tigress,—an instance of *Parīṭyokta* (*Pratimā* II 8)

अनपत्या वयं रामः पुत्रोऽन्यस्य मर्हापतेः ।
वने व्याघ्री च कैकेयी त्वया किं न कृत त्रयम् ॥

Various fact about Yudhishthira in disguise at Virātana-
gara are detailed by Virodhābhāsa (*Pañcarātra*, II 32)

मयौघन श्रेष्ठनपोवने रेता
नरेश्वरो ब्राह्मणवृत्तमाश्रितः ।
त्रिमुक्तगज्योऽभ्यभिरर्धितः श्रिया
त्रिदण्डधारी न च दण्डवाक्कः ॥

The contrast in the condition of Vālin is brought out
by Ullekha (*Abhiseka*, I 25)

अतिवलसुखशार्या पूर्वमासीर्हरीन्द्रः
क्षितितलपरिवर्ती क्षाणसर्वाङ्गचेष्टः ।
शरवम्परिवीत व्यक्तमुत्सृज्य देहं
त्रिमभिलपामि वीर स्वर्गमद्याभिगन्तुम् ॥

A devoted wife following her lord through thick and
thin is effectively described by Arthāntaravāsa (*Pratimā*,
I 25)

अनुचरति शशाङ्क राहुदोषेऽपि ताग
पतति च वनवृक्षे याति भूमिं लता च ।
त्यजति न च करेणुः पङ्कलग्नं गजेन्द्रं
व्रजतु चरतु धर्मं भर्तृनाथा हि नार्यः ॥

Rareness of gratitude in this world is thus vividly
described (*Śaṭpāṇa*, IV 10)

गुणानां वा विशालानां सत्काराणां च नियमः ।
कर्तारं सुलभां लोके विज्ञातास्तु दुर्लभा ॥

Carudatta's observations on poverty are no doubt realistic and vivid, illustrating Upamā and Virodhābhāsa (*Cār*, I 3)

सुख हि दुःखान्यनुभूय शोभते
यथान्धकारादिव दीपदर्शनम् ।
सुखात्तु यो याति दशा दरिद्रता
स्थितः शरीरेण मृतः स जीवति ॥

Lakṣmana's mind is said to be on a swing, as it were, oscillating between his vow of implicit obedience to elders and Dharma (*Abhiseka* VII 4)

विज्ञाय देव्या. शौचं च श्रुत्वा चार्यस्य शासनम् ।
धर्मस्नेहान्तरे न्यस्ता बुद्धिर्दोषायते मम ॥

With this may be compared the picture of the mind of the brides' mothers which hangs between Dharma and Sneha (*Pratimā*, II 7)

अदत्तेत्यागता लज्जा दत्तेति व्यथित मन ।
धर्मस्नेहान्तरे न्यस्ता दुःखिनाः खलु मातरः ॥

Devaki's mental condition after entrusting her child to Vasudeva is beautifully put in the *Bālacarita* (I 13)

हृदयेनेह तत्राङ्गेद्विधाभूतेषु गच्छति ।
यथा नभसि तोये च चन्द्रलेखा द्विधा कृता ॥

The silent message of the exiled trio brought by Sumantra is the most expressive one (*Pratimā*, II 17)

कमप्यर्थं चिरं ध्यात्वा वक्तुं प्रस्फुरिताश्रयाः ।
वाप्यस्तम्भितकण्ठानादनुक्त्वैव वनं गताः ॥

The contrast in Vatsarāja's condition is finely expressed by Visama (*Pratijñā*, III 4) .

स्नानस्य यस्य समुपस्थितर्दवनस्य
पुण्याहवोपनिग्मे पटहा नदन्ति ।
तस्यैव कालविभवात् तिथिपूजनेषु
देवप्रणामचलिता निगताः स्यनन्ति ॥

Rāma's sorrow in the forest on the anniversary day is most pathetic (*Pratimā*, V. 6)

पत्यानि दृष्ट्वा दर्भेषु स्वहस्तगर्हितानि नः ।
स्मार्गितो वनवासं च तातस्तत्रापि गेदिति ॥

Lute has supplied us with various figures It is finely compared to a female companion, pastime, wife and co-wife in a fusion of *Upamā*, *Rūpaka* and *Atisayokti* (*Cār*, III 1)

उत्कर्षितस्य हृदयानुगता सर्गाव
मर्द्दार्णदोषगहिता विषयेषु गोष्ठी ।
क्रांटाग्नेषु मदनव्यसनेषु कान्ता
स्त्रीणां तु कान्तगनिविघ्नकरी मयन्ती ॥

The lute reminds king Udayan of its constant companion, queen Vāsavadattā, and he breaks out into the following utterance, the verse touching a very pathetic note (*Stapna*, VI 1)

श्रुतिमुखनिनदे ! कथं नु देव्याः
मनयुगले जवनस्यले च सुप्ता ।
विहगगणरजोविराणदण्डा
प्रतिभयमभ्युपिताम्यगण्यतामम् ॥



The various figures and pithy sayings from the domain of kingship and allied topics are being presented here in a collection. Bhāṣa's message that kingdoms are won by fight and not by begging deserves to be quoted first on account of the profound truth it expresses (*Dūtaśāstra*, 24)

गय नाम नृपात्मजैः सहृदयैर्जित्वा रिपून् भुज्यते
तल्लोके न तु याच्यते न तु पुनर्दोनाय वा दीयते ।
क्राद्धा चेन्नृपतित्वमाप्तुमचिरात् कुर्वन्तु ते साहस
स्वैर वा प्रविशन्तु शान्तमतिभिर्जुष्ट शमायाश्रमम् ॥

It is further stated that royal glory is enjoyed only by the energetic (*Śiṣya* VI 7)

कातरा येऽप्यगता वा नोत्साहस्तेषु जायते ।
प्रायेण हि नरेन्द्रश्री सोत्साहैरेव भुज्यते ॥

The ideals to be aimed by kings were Dharma, Yajna, protection of the subjects etc (*Pancarātra* I 24-30)

वाणार्थीना क्षत्रियाणां समृद्धिं
पुत्रोपेक्षी वञ्च्यते सन्निधाता ।
विप्रोत्सङ्गे वित्तमान्तर्यं सर्वं
गङ्गा देयं चापमात्रं सुतेभ्यः ॥१४॥
किं तद्द्रव्यं किं फलं को विशेषः
क्षत्राचार्यो यत्र विप्रो दरिद्रः ॥१०॥
तस्मात्प्रजापालनमात्रबुद्ध्या
हतेषु देहेषु गुणा धरन्ते ॥१५॥

Transitoriness of human actions is shown by stating that everything else besides sacrifice and gift is evanescent (*Karnabhara* 22)

शिक्षा क्षयं गच्छति कालपर्ययान्
 सुवद्धमूला निपतन्ति पादपाः ।
 जलं जलस्यानगतं च शुष्यति
 द्रुतं च दत्तं च तथैव तिष्ठति ॥

Momentary nature of the kingly whim is stated in the *Bālacarita* (II 13)

स्मरतापि भयं राजा भयं न स्मरतापि वा ।
 उभाभ्यामपि गन्तव्यो भयादप्यभयादपि ॥

That the earth protects its master if he keeps it free from *arnasamkara* is expressed by Aprastutaprasāmsā based on Kāvyalinga and Parikara (*Pratijñā*, I 9)

परचक्रैरनाक्रान्ता धर्ममङ्करवर्जिता ।
 भूमिर्भर्तारमापन्नं रक्षिता परिरक्षति ॥

The duties of a king have been enumerated in a stanza (*Atimāraka*, I 12)

धर्मः प्रागेव चिन्त्यः सचिवमनिगतिः प्रेक्षितव्या स्वबुद्ध्या
 प्रच्छाद्यौ गगरोपौ मृदुपरुषगुणौ कालयोगेन कार्यौ ।
 ज्ञेयं लोकानुवृत्तं परचरनयनैर्मण्डलं प्रेक्षितव्यं
 गक्ष्यो यन्नादिहात्मा ग्णजिरमि पुनः मोऽपि नावेक्षितव्यः ॥

In a true sportsman spirit Duryodhana expresses a noble sentiment that in family feuds, there is no enmity with children (*Pañcarātra*, III 4):

केनापनीतोऽभिमन्युः । अहमेवैनं मोक्षयामि । कुतः,
 मम हि पितृभिरस्य प्रस्तुतो ज्ञानिभेद-
 स्तदिह मम च दोषो वक्तृभिः पानर्नायः ।

अथ च मम स पुत्र पाण्डुराना तु पश्चात्
सति न कुर्यान्मये नापग यन्ति प्राग ॥

The achievements even of an energetic king like Mahasena fail to satisfy him only on account of his failure to subjugate Vatsiraja. This is expressed by Kavyalinga and Paravavokta (*Itatijna* II 3)

मम हयखुरभिन्न मार्गण्य नरेन्द्रा
सकुटतटरिल्लन श्रेयभूता र्हन्ति ।
न च मम परितोषो यन्न मा वसराज
प्रणमति गुणशाय कुञ्जरज्ञानदृष्ट ॥

The famous dream scene in the *Shapna* and the scene between Duryodhana and Durjaya in the *Urbhanga* will well repay perusal

Bhasa is fond of sowing broadcast pithy proverbial phrases in his plays. These are universal truths applicable everywhere uncircumstanced by time and space. Without offering any prefatory remarks or subsequent comments I merely append below a selection of Subhasitas from Bhasa both in prose and verse

देशमालावस्थापेक्षि खलु शौर्यं नयानुगामिनाम् । दूतवाक्य,
P 18

माता निल मनुष्याणा दैवताना च दैवतम् । मध्यम, st 37
मानशरीरा रानान । ऊरुभङ्ग P 113

को हि समर्थ सन्निहितशार्दूल गुहा वर्णयितुम् । दूतघटोत्कच
P 55

हतोऽपि लभत स्वर्गं जित्वापि लभते यश ।

उभे बहुमते लोके नास्ति निष्फलता रणे ॥ कर्णभार, st 12

अमाले स्वस्यत्राक्य मन्युमुपादयति । पञ्चरात्र, p 65
 अथिगादपरिश्रान्त पृच्छयेत् हि कार्यान् । पञ्चरात्र II 6
 किं तद्द्रव्य किं पञ्च को विशेष
 क्षत्राचार्यो यत्र विप्रो दरिद्र ॥ पञ्चरात्र, I 30
 यस्तदाह हि को हन्यात् । पञ्चरात्र, II 52
 दृष्टेऽपि हि नग सर्वे मये तिष्ठन्ति तिष्ठति । पञ्चरात्र,
 III 25
 रूपेण स्त्रिय ऋच्यन्ते । पराक्रमेण तु पुरुषा । पञ्चरात्र,
 p 106
 श्रीर्न सन्तोषमिच्छति । पञ्चरात्र, II 8
 श्रृङ्गलो हि स्नेहो नाम । अग्निमारु, p 83
 भवस्य भवितयेऽर्थे क प्रहर्ष । अग्निमारु, p 29
 मस्तात्रदीपप्रमुपलभ्य मन्दीभवयातुर । अग्निमारु, p 26
 ग हि विनयअणेण पित्त णस्मदि । अग्निमारु, p 87
 न तथा रत्नमासाद्य मुजन परितुष्यति ।
 यथा तत्तद्रताम्राद्वै पात्रे दत्त्वा ग्रह्ण्यति । अग्निमारु, IV 14
 राज्ञस्य भूर्गस्य च कार्ययोगे
 समयमन्येति तनुर्न बुद्धि ॥ अग्निमारु, V 5
 चेमाहा नाम बहुश पर्गस्य कर्तव्या भवन्ति । अग्निमारु,
 p 13
 अन्य तुल्यशीलानि द्वद्धानि सृजन्ते । प्रतिमा, p 18
 गर्गरेऽपि प्रहरति हृदये स्वननस्तथा । प्रतिमा, I 12
 मुग्धहाराहो परिअणो णाम । प्रतिमा, p 9
 अयस्य युधि प्रागणा ययो वा विनयोऽयना । अभिषेक,
 p 38 n.

metres the other Rāma drama runs a close second with 154 stanzas and 15 metres. The *Aśvamaraka* also employs 15 different metres in its 97 stanzas. The *Karnabhāra* is the smallest number with 23 stanzas and 7 metres.

There is a preponderance of the Śloka metre 437 out of 1092 stanzas being in that metre nearly 40%. The *Madhyama* has the highest percentage of Ślokas viz 64% and the *Aśvamaraka* the smallest viz 15%. The *Vasāntatilaka* with its 179 stanzas is only a poor second with the *Śardulavikrīṭa* (92) and *Upajātī* (91) coming next. Then come the *Mahinī* (72) and *Puspitaṅga* (55) and the others have a still smaller number of stanzas. There are thirteen verses in Prakrit in six different metres with the *Arya* claiming five stanzas.

The preponderance of the Śloka is not confined to the epic dramas alone while the *Urubhanga* and *Karnabhāra* among the epic dramas show a very low percentage of the Śloka. The classical dramatists however such as Kalidasa, Viśakhadatta, Bhāṭṭa Nāyaka and Bhavabhūti use the *Anuśtubh* on a small scale and show preference for the *Arya*, *Śardulavikrīṭa* and *Vasāntatilaka*. In Bhāsa the Śloka is invariably perfect and regular. The rule as to the dramas in the second padī is rigidly insisted on. A number of cases are found of weak endings in which the last syllable is short. The lapses from prosodial rules are very few. The *Vasāntatilaka* occupying a small percentage in Bhāsa occurs in a greater proportion in Kalidasa and Viśakhadatta while the *Arya* which is rare in Bhāsa rises to a very high percentage in the later periods.

The structure of the verse is perfect being in complete

अहः समुत्तार्य निशा प्रतीक्ष्यते शुभे प्रभाते दिवसोऽनुचिन्त्यते ।
 अनागतार्थान्यशुभानि पश्यता गतं गतं कालमवेक्ष्य निर्वृतिः ॥
 प्रतिज्ञा, III 2.

नाने रत्ने भाजने को निरोधः । प्रतिज्ञा, IV 2
 न ह्यनारुह्य नागेन्द्र वैजयन्ती निपात्यते । प्रतिज्ञा, IV. 20
 वृतापराधस्य हि सत्कृतिर्वरः । प्रतिज्ञा, IV 23.
 अजुक्त परपुरुससक्तित्वा सोढु । स्वप्न, p. 55.
 कालक्रमेण जगतः परिवर्तमाना चक्रारपट्टिं रिच गच्छति भाग्यपट्टिः ॥
 स्वप्न, I 4

कः क शक्तो रक्षितु मृयुकाले रज्जुच्छेदे के घट धारयन्ति ।
 एव लोमस्तुल्यधर्मो वनानां काले काले दृश्यते रक्षते च ॥
 स्वप्न, VI 10.

तस्मिन्सर्वमज्ञानं हि यत्रार्थानो नराधिपः ॥ स्वप्न, I. 15
 प्रद्वेषो बहुमानो वा सङ्कल्पादुपजायते ॥ स्वप्न, I 7
 अजुक्त पररहस्यं मोढु । चारुदत्त, p 92
 जनयति खलु रोप प्रश्रयो मिथमानः । चारुदत्त, I. 14.
 नरः प्रयुपकागर्था विपत्तौ लभते फलम् ।

चारुदत्त, IV. 7

भाग्यक्रमेण हि धनानि पुनर्भवन्ति । चारुदत्त, I 5
 साहसे खलु श्रीर्वसति । चारुदत्त, p 93
 स्वैर्दोषैर्भवति हि शङ्कितो मनुष्यः । चारुदत्त, IV 6

MLTRICS In the cycle of Bhāsa dramas the total number of verses is 1092, and as many as twentyfour different metres have been employed * The Pratimā heads the plays with 157 verses, with 16 different kinds of

metres the other Rama drama runs a close second with 154 stanzas and 15 metres. The *Atimuraka* also employs 15 different metres in its 97 stanzas. The *Karnabhira* has the smallest number with 25 stanzas and 7 metres.

There is a preponderance of the Śloka metre 437 out of 1092 stanzas being in that metre nearly 40%. The *Madhyama* has the highest percentage of Ślokas viz 61% and the *Atimuraka* the smallest viz 15%. The *Vasantatilaka* with its 179 stanzas is only a poor second with the *Sardulavikranta* (92) and *Ujjayanti* (91) coming next. Then come the *Mahini* (72) and *Puṣpitagra* (55) and the others have a still smaller number of stanzas. There are thirteen verses in Prakrit in six different metres with the *Ārya* claiming five stanzas.

The preponderance of the Śloka is not confined to the epic dramas alone while the *Ūruthanga* and *Karnabhira* in the epic dramas show a very low percentage of the Śloka. The classical dramatists however such as Kālidāsa, Viśakhadatta, Bhāṭṭa Nāyana and Bhavabhūti use the Anuṣṭubh on a small scale and show preference for the *Ārya*, *Sardulavikranta* and *Vasantatilaka*. In Bhāsa the Śloka is invariably perfect and regular. The rule is to the drumbeat in the second pada is rigidly insisted on. A number of cases are found of weak endings in which the last syllable is short. The lapses from prosodial rules are very few. The *Vasantatilaka* occupying a small percentage in Bhāsa occurs in a greater proportion in Kālidāsa and Viśakhadatta while the *Ārya* which is rare in Bhāsa rises to a very high percentage in the later periods.

The structure of the verse is perfect being in complete

accord with the rules of prosody. The style is simple direct and vigorous. Long and complicated compounds are almost absent and the caesura generally falls at the end of a complete word. The padas are generally complete and independent in sense but at times connected with the rest of the stanza. The influence of the epic tags and conventional comparisons is notably found in the Śloka metre the notable tags being अचिरेणैव कालेन प्रसादं कर्तुमर्हसि कम्पयन्निव मेदिनीम् सम्भ्रमात्कुञ्चलोचना. Of the metrical solecisms of which there are a very few really worth the name some can be defended on the ground of epic usage some may be due to the special liking of the poet. The breaking up of a verse between different speakers is a peculiarity of Bhasa and is effectively used a number of times.

STYLE AND DIALOGUES This brings us to the consideration of the style of Bhasa. The influence of the epics is responsible for the simplicity and directness of style. It is rarely that we come across long compounds. The sentences are everywhere replete with a wealth of ideas beautifully expressed. The language is very simple natural and touching alternated with simple figures of speech though there is the use of alliteration at some places. The style is flowing and direct the verbal flow is unimpeded and limpid. We find in Bhasa an adequate and forcible expression of strong emotions.⁹ Typical feelings are expressed in simple language.¹⁰ Bhasa is a master hand at depicting irony.¹¹ The poet's fondness for pithy proverbial sayings is evident from their large number in each play. He is also fond of the simple and senten-

tious, avoiding the artifices, ornamentations and word jugglery, which, though a merit in some literary pieces, are clearly undramatic. *Prasāda*, *ojas* and *mādhurya* may be said to be the characteristics of Bhāsa's style. There is a change in style as befits the occasion and sentiment as directed in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Bhāsa is terse and sparse in his expression. He tells us more by the things he does not say than by the things he says. He is the master of silence.

Dialogue is a necessary element of drama, and Bhāsa is a master conversationalist. His dialogues are crisp and intensely dramatic. The speeches of the characters are natural, direct, realistic and vigorous. These dramas make the impression that Sanskrit was a living language at the time. Verse is successfully employed in dialogue. A stanza is occasionally split up in parts and each is taken by a different character. This device is eminently suited for quickness of repartee and dazzling display of dialogues.

We may note certain peculiarities of expression of the poet. *Mā* is used with the instrumental, *kin nu khalu* indicates a question, *aho nu khalu* is used to introduce a stanza, *āma* and *bādham* denote assent, *kimāsse*, *sukhamāryasya*, *kimāsyate* were the forms of greetings, *yadi* is used with *cet*,¹² alternation is implied without using *ā*.¹³

NĀṬYAŚĀSTRA AND PLAYHOUSE Bhāsa disregards the rules of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* in several particulars. Thus e.g., there is the actual representation of violent scenes, deaths, duels, slaughters, etc., as also of sport and sleep. tragic end of the *Urubhanga*, there is

difference in the allotment of various seats to different personages from that stated in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, calling aloud from a distance is found in the *Pañcarātra* 'Āryaputra' is used as a form of address from a servant¹⁴ the name of the author or the piece is not mentioned in the prologue etc

The possibilities are that Bhāsa preceded the extant *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata or followed a different *Nāṭyaśāstra* or an earlier version of Bharata or at least when he wrote his plays the *Nāṭyaśāstra* had not attained any binding force. It may safely be assumed that the rules of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* came to be followed after the time of Kālidāsa. The absence of any reference to Bhāsa's works in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is possibly due to the alleged antiquity of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

The antagonists of the Bhāsa problem, however, opine on the strength of the occurrence of some of the peculiarities noted above in the South Indian dramas that Bhāsa's disregard of Bharata's rule does not indicate his priority to Bharata but the South Indian origin of these dramas¹⁵. But Bhāsa's dramas are centuries older than the South Indian plays and the so called Kerala peculiarities are due to the influence of these plays on the Kerala theatre.

The date of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is still a moot point. The present *Nāṭyaśāstra* cannot be posted to the hoary antiquity it claims for itself. Bhāsa himself refers to a *Nāṭyaśāstra*¹⁶ and the late date that may be assigned to the extant *Nāṭyaśāstra* need not militate against the antiquity of Bhāsa for Bhāsa may be taken to refer to some predecessor of Bharata or to the earlier version of

spots from which the actors gesticulated ascending or descending. Movable curtain was employed for showing a change of scene and the *parikramana* of the actors there were also transverse screens. The auditorium had a door at the extreme end for the entry of spectators. The ground was gradually raised for providing seating accommodation. Seats were of wood or of bricks arranged in rows, those near the stage being reserved for the judges. The times for the performance of a drama depended on the subject matter of the particular play, for example religious dramas in the morning, erotic in the first quarter of the night, pathetic in the last quarter, etc. There were four principal times, morning, evening and first and last quarters of the night. Female roles were played by females in general, but sometimes males also personated female parts. The stage consisted much of moveable cenery such as chariots, horses, elephants, etc. made from some light material.

— NANDĪ AND BHARATAVAKYĀ Visvanatha has noticed two different styles in the opening of Sanskrit dramas.¹⁹ Most of the Sanskrit dramas begin with the benedictory stanza followed by the stage direction नन्द्यत ततः प्रवशात् सूत्रधार. Bhasa's works on the contrary, in common with South Indian plays and southern MSS of the *Lakṣmīrasijā*, *Malatikānimitra*, *Naṇananda*, *Mudrarakṣasa*, etc. have the stage direction *Nandyante*, etc. before the benedictory stanza. It is clear that *Nandī* has a different meaning in each case. The word *Nandī* in the former case refers to the benedictory stanza, whereas in the latter it refers to the preliminaries.

behind the scenes Bana certainly refers to this peculiarity of the Bhaṣa plays in his statement मृगधर इतिारम्भ that the *Nandī* was performed behind the scenes. The fact that Southern MSS of northern dramas and south Indian MSS have the same opening does not affect Bana's statement as Bana must be taken to refer to the practice of his own time and not to that which obtained subsequently. It is however probable that the Bhaṣa MSS in Bana's days were not anonymous as they are at present because in that case he would certainly have referred to this peculiar feature of Bhaṣa and mentioned the dramas as कविनामाविवारिता. This shows that the opening portions of these dramas have been tampered with in post Bana days.

The *Bharataṭakya*s cannot be brushed aside simply as referring in general to one's own king. The changes in the toning of the *bharataṭakya*s of the various plays of this group indicate vicissitudes in the life and fortunes of the ruling king: the references to foreign invasion suggesting the king's losing, regaining and expanding his kingdom during the period these plays were written. The extent of the kingdom is given as the land between the Vindhya and Himalayas bounded by the oceans. On the assumption that Rajasimha in the *bharataṭakya*s referred to the name of a king many scholars have identified the patron king of the poet with some king of the Pandya, Pallava, Kerala, Kanna or Ksatrapa families having name similar to Rajasimha.²⁰ Now the South Indian kings of the Pandya, Pallava or Kerala family cannot be credited with being the patrons of Bhaṣa as his dramas are attested

to at a period much earlier than the period represented by these kings. The territorial limits of the kingdom as stated in the *bharataśāstras* moreover would conflict in the case of the South Indian kings. Of the kings hailing from the North who may be considered for the patronship of Bhasa the territorial description does not apply to the Kṣātrapa kings or to Puṣyamitra Śunga or to Aśoka. Further in the case of all these kings with the exception of Puṣyamitra there was no foreign invasion. In the case of Ugrasena Mahāpadma, the predecessor of Candragupta Maurya we find that the boundaries of his empire conform to the territorial limits of Bhasa's *bharataśāstras* and the impending foreign invasion refers to the Greek invasion under Alexander the Great. Or it may be that the poet may have lived in the reign of Candragupta Maurya and was a senior contemporary of the great Mauryan minister Kautilya. We shall consider this point when dealing with the Date of Bhasa.

BHASA AND TRAGEDY It is said that absence of any effort at tragedy is a striking characteristic of the Sanskrit drama but the discovery of the Bhasa plays has brought out at least one real tragedy in the *Urubhanga*. The *Urubhanga* is a tragedy viewed from Aristotle's point or that of Hegel. Aristotle considered the spectacle of an ordinary human being brought to disaster by some frailty in him as the fit subject for tragedy which evoked fear and compassion and thereby purged the soul. The conflict of a monster with a pigmy or of a righteous man with an evil doer will produce a sense of pathos rather than the tragic sense and hence Hegel's view that tragedy

arises not from a conflict of right with wrong, but of right with right is more appropriate from a psychological point. The conflict of right with wrong will evoke feelings of poetic justice in our minds and not those of tragedy.

The *Ūrubhanga* is a real tragedy — in Bhāsa's view Duryodhana is a hero — a noble king, not an evil man. Throughout in the *Ūrubhanga* Duryodhana receives our sympathies and he is not at all depicted as the enemy of Kṛṣṇa²¹ and there is absolutely no feeling that he was served right.

✓ Duryodhana fights righteously in the *gāḍayuddha* and is defeated only through the wiles of Kṛṣṇa. Then he further evokes our sympathy by restraining Balarama from uprooting the Pandavas²². He gets shocks one after another when he sees his queens lament and his broken thighs prevent him from prostrating at his father's feet and from offering his thigh as a seat to his son. Duryodhana is portrayed as a dutiful son, loving husband, affectionate father and a noble warrior. Though fallen he is not crest-fallen, sees nothing to repent of and feels proud of the fact that he did not show his back in war. He teaches reconciliation and peace to his son. Duryodhana rouses our sense of pity by undeserved misfortunes that befall his lot, hence we cannot contribute to the view that the *Ūrubhanga* has a happy end²³.

The tragic element in the *Ūrubhanga* would be seen in a clearer perspective by comparison with the *Leśanahīra* which depicts Duryodhana as an evil doer, and Bhīma as the real hero. Duryodhana in the *Leśanahīra* does not attract our sympathies whereas in the *Ūrubhanga* he is

the real hero and his end there is tragic. Dr. KEITH's criticism aptly applies to the *Lenisamhita* where Duryodhana is the enemy of Kṛṣṇa deserving his fate and the spectator all worshippers of Kṛṣṇa enjoy the scene.* The *Lenisamhita* in reality is a suppressed tragedy quite distinct from the conception of a real tragedy which we find in the *Ārubhanga*. Even to Indian readers the end of Duryodhana invested with the characteristics briefly indicated by us is really tragic. They do not exult over that much less do they find it justified.

VERSES ASCRIBED TO BHĀSA There are fifteen verses ascribed to Bhasa in various anthologies and other works and not a single of them is found in his extant dramas. The absence has been taken as an argument against Bhasa's authorship of these plays but it can be satisfactorily explained.

In the first place much reliance cannot be placed on the anthologies as they are found to be wrong in various ways and particulars. There are misquotations wrong ascriptions and ascriptions of the same stanza to different writers in different anthologies. Secondly the anthology verses may have come from other works of Bhasa now lost to us or may be his independent compositions for it is not yet definitely proved that Bhasa wrote only those works that have come down to us. It may again be urged that some of these verses may have been taken from recensions of these dramas now lost to us as would appear from the fact that we have indicated suitable contexts for some of the verses in these plays. It may be noted that

different MSS of the *Abhiseka* from the same region omit as many as three stanzas and similar changes are found in different MSS of the *Madhyama* and other plays.²⁴ And again the absence of some anthology verses from the works of Kalidasa Aśvaghoṣa etc. is not taken as casting doubt on the authenticity of their works. It is but just that the same treatment should be accorded to Bhaṣa.

An attempt is made in the following pages to restore some of the stanzas to the works of Bhaṣa. It is clear that some of these cannot have come from Bhaṣa.

In spite of its ascription to Bhaṣa by Somadeva in his *Yaśastilaka* the stanza

पेया सुरा प्रियतमामुखमाक्षणाय
ग्राह्य स्वभावरलितो निमिष्टश्च त्रेप ।
येनेदमादृशमदृश्यत मोक्षयर्म
दीर्घायुरस्तु भगवान् स पिनाम्पाणि ॥

obviously belongs to Mahendravikramavarman as it is found in his *Mattavilasa* (p. 7).²⁵ So it cannot be by Bhaṣa.

ताक्ष्ण रविस्तपति नाच इनाचिराक्ष्य
शृङ्ग सरस्यननि मित्रमिनाकृन्त ।
तोय प्रमीदति मुनेरि चित्तमत
कामी दरिद्र इव शोषमुपैति पङ्क ॥

It has been unanimously ascribed to Bhaṣa by the *Subhāṣita* *śaṭi* *Saduktikarmāmṛta* and *Śarṅgadī arapaddhāt* and by modern scholars including SARTI THOMAS and WELLER.²⁷ It shows many features common to Bhaṣa with regard to idea and expression. The stanza contains the description of summer and shows the same keen observation of nature

and humanity that we associate with Bhāsa

दुःखार्ते मयि दुःखिना भवति या हृष्टे प्रहृष्टा तथा
 दाने दैन्यमुपैति रोषपरुषे पथ्य वचो भाषते ।
 कालं वेत्ति कथाः कगेति निपुणा मसस्तत्रे रज्यति
 भार्या मन्त्रिणः सखा परिजनः सैका बहुत्व गता ॥

is ascribed to Bhāsa in the *Subhāsitā alī*. It is the description of an ideal wife. The stanza shows affinities to other Bhāsa works and the qualities enumerated conform to the female characters portrayed by Bhāsa. I had indicated the Fifth or the Sixth Act of the *Śaṭpāṇī* as the probable place where this stanza may suitably occur, but after reading Mr. ARYAN's observations²⁸, I am inclined to think that the stanza finds a better context in the *Śaṭpāṇī*, IV.

प्रिहिवनिताऽक्त्रैपम्य विभानि निशापनि—
 गर्लिनविभवस्याज्ञेवाद्य युतिर्मसृणा रेव ।
 अभिनववधूगेपस्वादुः कर्णपननूनपा—
 दसरल जनाश्चेपकृस्तुयारसमीरणः ॥

is the description of winter with thoughts similar to those in the works of Bhāsa and with word echoes from the latter. The *Saduktīkarnāmṛta* attributes it to Bhāsa. This general description may be from some other work of Bhāsa now lost to us.

The *Subhāsitā alī* ascribes to Bhāsa

वाला च मा रिदितपञ्चशरप्रपञ्चा
 तन्वी च सा स्तनभरोपचिताङ्गयष्टिः ।
 लज्जा समुद्रहति सा सुरतावमाने

हा ऋपि सा मिमि किं कथयामि तस्या ॥

which is in illustration of apparent contradiction a similar instance is found in the *Atimuraka* (p 6) It may find a place in the *Atimuraka* in the Fifth Act when the hero has a chat with his friend

यदपि विबुधैः सिन्धोरन्तः कथञ्चिदुपास्मिन्
तदपि सकृच्चारुर्वाणा मुखेषु मिलोक्यते ।
सुरसुमनसश्चासामोदे शशा च रूपोत्थो—
रमनमग्रे तिर्यग्भूते विष च विरोचने ॥

has been ascribed to Bhojadeva in the *Suktimuktavali* to Jaksamidhara in the *Karindratacanamasuccaya* and to Bhāsa in the *Saduktikarnamṛta* *Yasastilaka* and *Jahlan*. This casts some doubt about Bhāsa's authorship of this stanza. However a parallel for विष च विरोचन has been found in the *Atimuraka* II 17. The stanza compares the various parts of the faces of beautiful women with the various objects obtained by the gods by churning the ocean

प्रत्यासन्नविवाहमङ्गलविशैः देवार्चनयस्तथा
दृष्ट्वाप्रे परिणेतुं लिखिता गङ्गाभरस्यावृत्तिम् ।
उमादस्मितरोपलज्जितरसैर्गौया कथञ्चिच्चिराद्
वृद्धर्खावचनात् प्रिये विनिहत पुण्याञ्जलि पातु व ॥

is of the nature of a *mangala sloka* and though the *Saduktikarnamṛta* ascribes it to Bhāsa the *Śaṅgadhara* *śiddhanti* does not mention its author. On account of its similarities with the opening verses of the *Ratnavali*, *Imāmrak* and *Pratāparin* it has been taken to be

old and possibly connected with Bhāsa. If so, it belongs to some of his lost work, because being a benedictory stanza it cannot occur in any of the extant works.

कठिनहृदये मुञ्च क्रोधं सुखप्रतिधातकं
 लिखति दिवसं यात यात यमः किल मानिनि ।
 वयसि तरुणे नैनद्युक्तं चले च समागमे
 भवति कलहो यावत् तावत् वर सुभगे रतम् ॥
 कृतकृतकर्मैर्मायासख्यैस्त्वयास्म्यतिवञ्चिता
 निभृतनिभृतैः कार्यालपैर्मयाप्युपलक्षितम् ।
 भवतु विदितं नेष्टाह ते वृथा परिखिद्यसे
 ह्यहमसहना त्वं निःस्नेहं समेन समं गतम् ॥
 दग्धे मनोभवतरौ बाला कुचकुम्भसमृत्तैर्मृतैः ।
 त्रिरलीकृतालकाला जाना रोमावली वल्ली ॥

The first two of the above stanzas have been ascribed to Bhāsa in the *Subhāsitāvalī* and the last in the *Saduktikarnāmṛta*. There is no occasion for the occurrence of these stanzas in any of the extant plays of Bhāsa, and the stanzas contain ideas foreign to Bhāsa. The second stanza (*Kṛtakakṛtakāṣh* etc.) according to the *Sārṅgadharapaddhati* comes from an unknown poet.

अस्या ललाटे रचिता सङ्गाभि—
 विभाव्यते चन्दनपत्रलेखा ।
 आपाण्डुरक्षामरूपोलभित्ता—
 वनङ्गवाणव्रणपङ्क्तिरेव ॥

is ascribed to Bhāsa in the *Sārṅgadharapaddhati*. It contains ideas similar to those found in the *Atimāṛaka*. The *Subhāsitāvalī*, however, ascribes it to some unknown

poet It may find a suitable context in the *Atimāraka* at p 78

कपोले मार्जारः पय इति कर्णल्लेदि शशिन—
स्तस्च्छिद्रप्रोतान् विममिनि कर्ण मंकलयति ।
स्तान्ने तल्पस्यान् हरति वनिताप्यंशुकमिनि
प्रभामत्तश्चन्द्रो जगदिदमहो विष्टययति ॥

describes the tricks played by the moon on different objects The *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* ascribes it to Bhāsa, and the *Sūktimuktāvalī* to Rājaśekhara Description of the moon is a favourite topic of our poet, and some scholars are inclined to attribute this stanza to Bhāsa

दयिताबाहुपाशस्य कुनोऽयमपरो विविः ।
जीवययपितः कण्ठे माग्यन्यपराजितः ॥

has been differently ascribed to Bhāsa by the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, to Kalaśaka by the *Subhāsitāvalī*, and to Śyāmala by the *Saduktikarnāmṛta* Its similarity with some stanzas in the *Ratnāvalī* has been taken to indicate Bhāsa's authorship It cannot, however, find a place in our group of plays

पादाकान्तानि पुण्याणि सोऽप्य चेद शिवातदम् ।
नून काचिदिहार्माना मा दृष्टा महमा गता ।
व

is said to have come from the *Śvapṇatāṣavadatta* of Bhāsa by Rāmacandra and Gunacandra in their *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*²⁹. It is not found in the printed *Svapṇa*, but its dislocated elements are scattered in the IVth Act in the Śephālīka scene It must have belonged to the *Śvapṇa*, and its place there is after शिगदा भवे (*Svapṇa*, p 72)

त्रेतायुग * * * तद्धि न मैथिली सा
 रामस्य रागपदवी मृदु चास्य चेतः ।
 लब्धा जनस्तु यदि रावणमस्य काय
 प्रोत्कृत्य तन्न निन्द्यो न वितृप्तिगामा ॥

In his commentary on Bhārata's *Vālyasūtra*, Abhinavagupta ascribes this stanza to Bhāṣa. It belongs to some of the Rama dramas, and it may have formed part of the *Abhiseka* in the II Act after stanza 15 as a part of Hanuman's speech. It fits in with his sentiments at the time. The second line of this stanza is found in the newly discovered *Yajñaphalam* (IV 40)

सन्धितपश्मक्त्राट नयनद्वार स्वरूपतटनेन ।
 उद्धाट्य सा प्रविष्टा हृदयगृह मे नृपनृजा ॥

Abhinavagupta in the *Dhīanyāloka* cites this verse as from the *Svapnarāsa-adatta* and as an instance where poets care only for the figures and not for sentiments. The verse itself is not found in the *Svapnarāsa-adatta*, but it may find a place in the dream scene. It was perhaps omitted from the text by some scribe in deference to the criticism levelled against it by Abhinavagupta.

पद्मावत्या मुखं वीक्ष्य विशेषकत्रिभूषितम् ।
 जीवत्यावन्तिकेत्येतज्ज्ञात भूमिभुजा यथा ॥

is said to have come from the *Svapnarāsa-adatta* in the *Bhātāprakāśana* of Śāradātanaya. This stanza does not occur in the printed text but a similar incident is found in the drama, and this stanza is assigned a place after *Svapna*, V 8

एको हि दोषो गुणसन्निपाते
 निमज्जतान्दोः किरणेष्विग्राहः ।
 नून न दृष्टं कस्मिनापि तेन
 दारिद्र्यदोषो गुणगणिनार्थो ॥

Mr Narayan SASTRI of Madras ascribes this stanza to Bhāsa without giving any authority for his statement. The stanza, however, cannot be ascribed to Bhāsa who was pre Kālidāsa in time, as it refers to the well known saying of Kālidāsa from the *Kumārasambhava* (I 3)

एको हि दोषो गुणसन्निपाते
 निमज्जतान्दोः किरणेष्विग्राहः ।

BHĀSA AND KĀLIDASA BHĀSA'S INFLUENCE

Kālidāsa has referred to Bhāsa³⁰ among others as well established in reputation at his time, and it is but natural that his works should show the influence of his illustrious predecessor, Bhāsa. Kālidasa appears to be a close and careful student of Bhāsa and is so much with Bhāsa that knowingly or unknowingly identical or parallel ideas occur to him. Kālidāsa generally transforms and normally improves the borrowed matter and hence strict proof of indebtedness is impossible.

However, germs of some of the ideas incidents, situations, etc., as occur in Kālidāsa are found in Bhāsa, and we refer to a few of them. The king in the introductory scene of the *Śakuntala* issues instructions to the Commander-in-Chief not to disturb the hermitage people, which remind one of the similar instructions given by Padmāvati's chamberlain to his servants in the *Siapha*. The

description of the hermitage is similar in the *Svapna* and *Śākuntala*. Then with Vāsavadattā's words of thanks to the hermit woman may be compared the king's remarks that the speech of welcome is sufficient hospitality. Śakuntalā's farewell of her foster children is similar to that of Sita, and the distrust of Dusyanta by the deer in the *Śākuntala* finds its counterpart in the distrust in Bharata by the deer in the *Pratimā*. The watering incident in the opening scene of the *Śākuntala* where watering is mentioned as a penance is found in the *Pratimā* expressed by a different figure. The idea that everything befits the beautiful (*Śākuntala*) finds its germ in the *Pratimā*. The lost ring and the lost lute receive similar treatments at the hands of the kings in the *Śākuntala* and *Svapna*. The motif of the curse of Durvāsas seems to have been suggested by that of Candabhargava in the *Avimāraka*. The idea of the ups and downs of life following in succession like the spokes of the wheels which is expressed in the *Meghadūta* probably originated from the *Svapna*³¹. There are vague similarities regarding many expressions, but much reliance cannot be placed on these in the matter of proving indebtedness. However, some of the striking similarities have been given in the notes at the end in parallel columns³².

With all this, however, both are products of different ages and hence there are differences in conception, and their mental equipment and viewpoints are also different. In religious outlook, Bhāsa's mind is found to be immersed in the *Vedas* and *Purāṇas* and is optimistic and contented whereas in Kālidāsa, the religious conceptions become

more metaphysical and complicated and the general trend is of reasoned pessimism. Similar diversity is found in their political outlook also. Bhāsa stands for absolute monarchy believing in the goodness of the king. Kalidasa however pleads for democracy and rule according to the wishes of the people. Bhāsa's king has a small retinue while Kalidasa attaches female bodyguard etc. to the royal retinue. We are mainly concerned here with stylistic and literary peculiarities and find that Bhāsa is a realist whereas Kalidasa is a classicist. There is simplicity and naturalness in Bhāsa and ornamentation and studied simplicity in Kalidasa. The difference has been aptly stated by Jayadeva who calls Bhāsa the laughter of poetry and Kalidasa the grace of poetry.³² The former is quite simple and natural while the latter is studied. The difference can be illustrated by comparing Bhāsa's style with a forest creeper and that of Kalidasa with a garden creeper. The former is like a hermitage full of flowers and fruits chirpings of birds etc. whereas the latter is like a royal palace full of choicest delicacies and perfumes and musical sounds of lute etc. both have however *prasāda* in common. ✓

BHĀSA'S INFLUENCE. Śudraka as we shall see in the next section planned his *Mṛcchakatika* on the *Cirudatta* taking not only the plot characters incidents etc. but the prose and verse as well and making occasional improvements and additions and removing crudities. The *Aṣṭadhyākā* seems to have supplied Bhavabhūti with many incidents and ideas for his *Malatīmādhava*. Both derive their plot from folklore and the descriptions of nature are

peculiarities and dramatic devices, but they have also copied down his antique Prakrit Mahendravikramavarman and Śaktibhadra, the pioneer dramatists of the south, are specially indebted to the *Abhiseka* and *Pratijñā* for their *Mattavilāsa* and *Āścaryacūdāmanī*. The Udayana plays of Bhāsa have found a fertile growth in the *Vināṭā savadatta*, *Unmādavāsavadatta*, *Tāpasavatsarāja*, *Vatsarājacarita*, etc. The plays of Kulaśekhavarman, the *Kalyāṇasaugandhika*, *Dāmaka*, *Caturbhānī*, *Bhagavadajju kīya*, *Travikrama*, etc., have imitated the technique, and at places, the ideas of Bhāsa.

CĀRUDATTA AND MRCCHAKATĪKA One of the important and interesting problems raised by the discovery of the thirteen Bhāsa plays is the relation between the *Cārudatta* and the *Mrcchakatika*. (The two plays present a unique phenomenon in Sanskrit literature by their very close resemblance which excludes the hypothesis of their independent origin.) The discovery of the Bhāsa plays has cast an unexpected light on the age of the *Mrcchakatika*, and has once for all exploded PISCHEL's theory which attributed the *Mrcchakatika* to Dandin after first ascribing it to Bhāsa. [There is a sharp difference of opinion among scholars regarding the nature and relation of the *Cārudatta* and *Mrcchakatika*, their views being mainly dependent on their acceptance or rejection of the Bhāsa theory. MM. Dr. T. Ganapati SASTRI, Dr. MORGENSTIERNE, Dr. SUTTHANKAR, Dr. BELVALKAR, Dr. BANERJI SASTRI, Prof. S. M. PARANJAPE and others regard the *Cārudatta* as the original work and the *Mrcchakatika* only as an enlargement of it, while Prof. Ramavatara

SARMA Bhattanatha SVAMI Prof PISHAROTI MM Prof KANE Prof DEVADHAR and others pronounce the Bhasa cycle as spurious consider the Mrcchakatika as the original and the Carudatta as its mere abridgement or adaptation Dr RAJA Dr Hirananda SASTRI and others hold that both the Carudatta and the Mrcchakatika are different recensions of the same play ²⁴ } Before pursuing the main problem of the relationship of the two plays [I propose to give some prefatory remarks about the Carudatta showing that it is by Bhasa and that it is a fragment]

It may be recalled that while considering the common authorship of these plays reference was made to some common features of these plays [The Carudatta can also be linked with the group It has for instance a similar description of darkness as in the Balacarita and Avimaraka the same liking for music as in the Svapna Pratijna and Avimaraka it presents the same Prakrit archaisms and solecisms as in the other plays it disregards unity of time as do the Abhiseka Avimaraka Balacarita Stapna etc it has many similarities of idea and expression with the plays of the group specially with the Stapna]

[The next point is whether the Carudatta as we have it is a fragment] In spite of the colophon at the end of one MS (अवसिति चारुदत्तम्) there are grounds internal and external to postulate the existence of a sequel to the Carudatta [The following passages from the play clearly indicate that the poet wanted to continue the play

1 Carudatta (Car I 6) पाप कर्म च यत्परैरपि कृतं तत्तस्य सम्भाव्यते ।

2 Carudatta (Car I 5) भाग्यक्रमेण हि धनानि पुनर्भवन्ति ।

- 3 Śakāra (Cār, p 33) अहंके दाव वचिदे मृडकमटनीलए ।
 ✓ शौवहा दुक्खडे बडे ।
 (Cār, p 34) मा दाव तव अ मम अ दालुगो
 ✓ मोहो होदि ति ।
- 4 Samvāhaka (Cār, p 57) को हि णाम अप्पणा मिदं पन्नुअ-
 आरेण विणासेदि ।
 Gānikā (Cār, p 58) गण्डु अयो पुगो दमणाअ ।
- 5 Ganikā (Cār, p 90) जदा अय्य चारुदत्तो अभिमारद्व्वो
 तदा मण्डेमि ति ।
- 6 Sajjalaka (Cār, IV 7) नर प्रत्युपसार्था पिपत्ता लभते
 फलम् । डिपतामेव सलोऽस्तु
 योऽस्या भवतु तस्य वा ॥
- 7 Ganikā (Cār, V 103) एहि 'इम अज्जसं' गहिअ अय-
 ✓ चारुदत्तं अभिसरिम्मामो ।
 Cetī (Cār, V 103) अज्जुअ' तह । एद पुण भिसारि-
 आसहाअभूदं दुद्दिगं उण्णमिदं ।

[Dramatic justice requires the fulfilment of the first four statements. The attachment of the guilt of another's evil deed to a poor man indicated in Cārudatta's speech, and his belief in the return of good fortune to him do not find any expression in the present Cārudatta. Śakāra is not merely pouring out empty threats, but employing significant words, it is against his nature to brook the insult from Vasantasenā of the return of his carriage. The shampooer seeks an opportunity to repay his obligations. Vasantasenā is thinking of approaching Cārudatta fully adorned. All these point out that the writer intended to

deal with these factors, and the play, as it stands, is incomplete—a fragment—and comes to an end abruptly. These raise some expectations in the minds of the readers with regard to the vicissitudes in the fortunes of the *persona dramatis* in the play, without whose fulfilment there would remain the effect of incompleteness and there would not be poetic justice. [Thus we cannot accept the view that the *Cārudatta* is complete. Apart from the question whether the *Cārudatta* is the original or an abridgment the presence of these sentences in the *Cārudatta* unmistakably shows that a sequel had been intended otherwise these references to future events would have been omitted by the person who may have worked over the *Mṛcchakatika* into the *Carudatta* as contended by the anti Bhāṣites.]

[Besides these there is external evidence in the nature of some quotations, which render it probable that that the *Carudatta* had a sequel which ran on very similar lines to those found in the *Mṛcchakatika*.

(i) *Nāṭakalakṣanaratnakośa* (p. 41)³⁵ cites the following stanza from a *Daridrācārudatta*:

शुष्कद्रुमगतो रीति आदित्याभिमुख स्थितः ।

कथयन्निमित्त मे वायसो ज्ञानपण्डितः ॥

As the *Nāṭakalakṣanaratnakośa* quotes from both the *Cārudatta* and the *Mṛcchakatika*, it is clear that it distinguishes between the two. Now, the stanza is not found in the *Mṛcchakatika*, but identical sentiments and many of the phrases occur in the Ninth Act in an expanded form (IX. 10-11).

(ii) ^{११८} [The *Natyadarpana* (p 53) refers to the *Daśarudatta* in connection with the fruit depending on human effort or fate. The existing acts of the *Carudatta* make no reference to the human effort or fate and hence there was a sequel dealing with the result of the actions of *Carudatta*.] It may be noted that the *Natyadarpana* refers also to the *Mṛcchakatika* ^{३६}

(iii) [A verse is quoted in the *Sarasatikānṭhabhāṣana* (p 603)^{३७} as addressed by Vīta to Śākara

शक्र ! किं प्रार्थनया प्राप्तेरेण मिषेण वा ।

अकार्यवर्जं मे नृहि निमग्नाय करोमि ते ॥

In Sanskrit drama Śākara appears only in the *Carudatta* and *Mṛcchakatika* the verse does not occur in the *Mṛcchakatika* but its elements are found scattered in the prose passages in the VIIIth Act of the *Mṛcchakatika*. As the author of the *Mṛcchakatika* has expended the stray sentences from the *Carudatta* (as we shall presently show) it is possible that the verse has been omitted in the *Mṛcchakatika* and its sense has been given [This would show that there was a sequel to the *Carudatta*]

So it may be surmised that the *Carudatta* extended upto the events told in the IXth Act of the *Mṛcchakatika* and that both plays developed to the end on very similar lines.

Now we shall briefly consider the relation between the *Carudatta* and the *Mṛcchakatika* from the points of vocabulary technique Prakrit versification and dramatic incident.

1 Vocabulary The *Carudatta* uses many obscure

words while the *Mrcchakatika* has only one rare form *stthakalla attā*, the word *kallavattā* is common in the *Carudatta*. Some scholars have tried to show that the *Carudatta* contains pure Malabar words such as *neyyubbhūmana asthi* and *naye* and that *pucchanti* is used in its Ma'avalam sense of censure. It may be noted however that the words are derivable respectively from *snehodbhūmana asthi* and *nathe* and that the word *pucchanti* in the *Carudatta* simply means 'spoken of'.³³

2 **Technique** The *Carudatta* has no *nandi*; nor the *blarata ikya* the latter omission being due to the drama being a fragment. The absence of the benedictory stanza may be on account of the possible death of the poet before giving final touches to the play or it may be due to some unforeseen cause. The *Mrcchakatika* on the other hand has a *nandi* and an elaborate prologue in common with the classical drama but contrary to the classical usage the prologue is in Prakrit. So the *Mrcchakatika* must have had some authority for its departure from the general vogue and the Prakrit speech of the Sutradhara in the *Carudatta* seems to be the source as the Prakrit speech in the *Mrcchakatika* is preceded by an explanatory note एषास्मि भा का वणाप्रशयवणाच्च प्राकृतभाषा सह्य which is absent in the *Carudatta*. The *Śakuntalavyākhyā* also mentions the *Carudatta* as having Prakrit for the Sutradhara's speech evidently indicating that it was the source from which the author of the *Mrcchakatika* copied.³⁴

A regards characterization we find that while the characters in the *Carudatta* are more natural and are painted with a few bold strokes there appears a studied

effort to idealize and exaggerate them in the *Mr̥cchakatika*

3 **Prakrit** (The *Carudatta* in common with the other works of Bhasa retains old Prakrit forms whereas the *Mr̥cchakatika* invariably contains the middle Prakrit) The *Carudatta* has *ahake* and *tu am* for pronouns of First and Second Person while the *Mr̥cchakatika* employs the later forms *hage* (or *hagge*) and *tumam*. The absolutives of *gam* and *kr̥* are *gacchia* and *kari(ḷ)a* in the *Carudatta* and *gadua* and *kadua* in the *Mr̥cchakatika*. In the *Carudatta* neut. pl. of nom. and acc. ends in *ani* in the *Mr̥cchakatika* in *aim*. The *Carudatta* retains assimilated conjuncts e.g. *dissadi* which the *Mr̥cchakatika* simplifies into *disanṭi*. The old Prakrit *uma* is found in the *Carudatta* but not in the *Mr̥cchakatika*. For *gela* in the *Carudatta* the *Mr̥cchakatika* has *ghala*. Further the *Mr̥cchakatika* contains a number of *deśi* words (such as *chūia dhakkehi uddehi karatta baṇṇa poṭṭa* etc.) indicating a late date which are absent in the *Carudatta*. [The Maharashtra Prakrit employed by the *Mr̥cchakatika* is not found in the *Carudatta*]

4 **Versification** (The verses in the *Mr̥cchakatika* are largely free from the flaws of the corresponding verses of the *Carudatta* only very rarely do we come across an instance to the contrary) The improvement in the form and substance of the verse is effected by the rectification of grammatical mistakes elimination of redundancies and awkward constructions etc. [The *Mr̥cchakatika* further shows better judgment by placing the verses from the *Carudatta* in a better and more suitable context. These facts are inexplicable unless the priority of the *Carudatta*

is accepted

5 Dramatic Incident (i) Time analysis of the plays reveals the improvements effected by the *Mṛcchakatika* by significant omissions. The *Cārudatta* ties down the events of the first and third acts to *sasthī* and *astamī*, but the descriptions of the rise and setting of the moon in the first and third acts are inconsistent with the *tithi* scheme. The *Mṛcchakatika* cleverly omits all references to *tithi*, mentioning only the *Ratnasasthi*. (ii) The hero's remarks on poverty in the *Cārudatta* come to an abrupt end by the scene introducing Vasantasena, the *Mṛcchakatika*, however, portrays Cārudatta as engaged in meditation, thus connecting the events in a sequel. (iii) In the *Cārudatta* when Madanikā is attending on Vasantasenā and Sajjalaka calls out to the former it is strange that she alone hears him. The *Mṛcchakatika* improves on this by making Śarvilaka wait outside and call out only when Madanikā is sent out by her mistress.

In all these cases we find that the improvements and the changes for the better are invariably to be met with in the *Mṛcchakatika*, and the natural conclusion is that the *Mṛcchakatika* is an amplification of the *Cārudatta*, and hence the view that the *Cārudatta* is an adaptation of the *Mṛcchakatika* cannot be accepted. And again, the fact that the extent of the first four acts of the *Cārudatta* is nearly the same as that of the first four acts of the *Mṛcchakatika* goes against the view that the *Cārudatta* is an abridgment of the former. Moreover the *Cārudatta* is found to be prolix in certain passages. The priority of the *Mṛcchakatika* version is incompatible with the above

findings Thus, the *Cārudatta* appears to be the original of the *Mṛcchakatika*, or "if our *Carudatta* is not itself the original of the *Mṛcchakatika*, then, we must assume it has preserved a great deal of the original upon which the *Mṛcchakatika* is based"⁴⁰

Further, the essential differences between the two plays which we have dealt with later on, show that the *Mṛcchakatika* always shows later traits, proving it to be subsequent in time to the *Cārudatta* }

POLITICAL BYE-PLOT It will not be out of place here to consider the political bye plot in the *Mṛcchakatika* about which there is no reference in the *Carudatta*. Some scholars assert that it has been excised from the *Carudatta* by significant omissions⁴¹. The very fact that the political bye plot could be so carefully removed from the original play speaks very highly against its ever having formed a structural unit with the whole play. It is difficult to assign any reason for the deliberate omission and removal of all references to Pālaka and Āryaka, if the *Mṛcchakatika* were the original. { As a matter of fact, the political episode is loosely connected with the main story and runs on parallel lines with it, and hence the second half of the *Mṛcchakatika* is partly spoilt by the contamination of two subjects that stood originally in no relation whatever to each other. } The episode can be removed from the play without any prejudice to the development of the dramatic action. *Cārudatta* and *Vasantasena* are not directly connected with the revolution. There is no necessity of *Āryaka* for the exchange of carriages, and the innocence of *Cārudatta* can be established without the intervention

of broad and rollicking humour

CĀRUDATTA AND MRCCHAKATĪKA DIFFERENT RECENSIONS OF THE SAME PLAY ? Some scholars, as already stated, assert that the *Cārudatta* and *Mṛcchakatika* are different recensions of the same play hailing from different localities. The very fact that the two plays are known by different titles runs counter to any such assumption. It is to be noted that rhetoricians down from Vāmana distinguish between the *Cārudatta* and the *Mṛcchakatika*, thus testifying to their being two different works. Vāmana has three quotations one of which is found only in the *Mṛcchakatika*, one agrees more with the *Cārudatta*, and the third seems to be a misquotation for a passage occurring only in the *Cārudatta*.⁴¹ Vāmana thus seems to be aware of both the plays and is probably quoting from memory. Abhinavagupta in his commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭyasāstra* refers to a *Darīdracārudatta*, and Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra in the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* mention *Darīdracārudatta* and *Mṛcchakatika* side by side.⁴² The *Śakuntalāṅkhyā*, as already stated, mentions the Prakrit speech of the Sūtradhārī as the peculiarity of the *Cārudatta*. Thus the testimony of the above writers proves the existence of both the *Cārudatta* and *Mṛcchakatika*, and also that *Darīdracārudatta* is an alternative title for the *Cārudatta*. The *Cārudatta* and *Mṛcchakatika* are, therefore, quite distinct works.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE CĀRUDATTA AND MRCCHAKATĪKA Essential differences between the two works also prove the same thing, in addition to showing the priority of the *Cārudatta*. (1) *Cārudatta*, in

are two distinct works, and that the former is older than the *Mṛcchakatika*, and hence on account of their peculiar relationship dealt with hitherto, it is evidently the original of the *Mṛcchakatika* ✓

KERALA INFLUENCE AND CĀKYĀRS From the fact that these Bhāsa plays bear some structural similarities with some of the South Indian plays which omit the names of their authors from their prologues, which they style *śhīpanā*, and which disregard some of the rules of Bharata, as also because some of the acts from these plays, such as the *Śephālīkāṅka*, *Mantrāṅka*, *Mallāṅka*, etc are popular on the Kerala stage and form part of the Cākyār repertoire, it has been argued that these plays come from the South and owe their birth to Cākyār authorship ⁴⁷ The following additional grounds have been enumerated in support of the Kerala origin of these plays (i) some Prakrit words are used in their peculiar Kerala sense, (ii) the statues and statue-houses and the method of worshipping the statues are a Kerala institution, (iii) non participation of the queen in the coronation in the *Pratimā* shows compliance with the Kerala practice; (iv) the word "*sambandha*" in the *Pratīṇā* and the *Atimūṛaka* is used in its technical sense denoting Sambandha marriage, (v) mention of Kharapata and Medhātithi's *Nyāyāsūtra* proclaims these plays to be quite late and from the South ⁴⁸

Now, taking these arguments serially we find that though most of the South Indian dramas exhibit the same structural features and the same dramatic technique in contravention of the rules of Bharata there are only a

couple of dramas which do not contain the name of the author. The question of authorship of the other dramas presents no difficulties and is not dependent on inference as the names of the authors are mentioned in the dramas themselves. The real difficulty would arise only in the case of the authorship of anonymous works, and these should present not much trouble. The *Tranikrama*, *Vināśasatadatta*, *Dāmaka* and *Bhagaradajjukīya* are the only anonymous pieces brought forth by the supporters of the Kerala theory, and it may be noted that the *Bhagaradajjukīya* is ascribed to Bodhāyana Kavī, the *Tranikrama* and *Dāmaka* are really the works of some Cākyār, and they exhibit no individual characteristics, but appear to be produced by compilation. As regards the *Vināśasatadatta*, I am inclined to identify it with the *Īatsarājacarita* ascribed to Śūdraka.

Now, the fact that South Indian dramas of known authors display the same features of structure and dramatic technique as the works of Bhāsa, requires some explanation. It is to be observed in this connection that the stage reform in Kerala is quite a recent event referable to the period of the Kerala kings of 10th-11th centuries, and the *Āścaryacūdāmanī* by Śaktibhadra is the first drama from the south.⁴⁹ Bhāsa's dramas, on the contrary, have been known since the days of Kālidāsa, and one of the main structural peculiarities found in the southern works has been definitely associated with Bhāsa by Bāna in the 7th century. The Kerala dramatists were actors directly connected with the stage and the peculiar dramatic devices used by Bhāsa and the stageworthiness of his works must

have appealed to these actor-adapters, and practical utility made them incorporate these factors in their works which later came to be regarded as Kerala practices

✓ Popularity of these works on the Kerala stage cannot be taken to indicate Cakyār authorship. Many other works of known authorship besides these plays form part of the Cākyaṛ repertory and are popular on the Kerala stage, but they are not ascribed to the Cakyārs. Besides, despite much that has been written on the subject, we do not yet know the exact part played by the Cakyārs in the work of revision or adaptation. There is no evidence as to the ability of the Cākyaṛs to compose Sanskrit dramas. They are said to be working on adaptations of translations only. And again, these Cākyaṛs stage only the select acts from these dramas, so the particular acts alone could be called adaptations, but we find that all acts of the whole plays including the so called stage editions of particular acts from those plays are of uniform merit with regard to style and thought, and hence those particular acts even cannot be from the stage editions and hence not a single bit from these dramas can be ascribed to Cākyaṛ authorship.

We shall now deal with the other arguments and finally discuss the topic whether these plays can be called adaptations.

As regards the particular Prakrit words it has been shown that they can be explained independently of their Kerala associations.⁵⁰ Again there is not much sense in a Kerala dramatist using Kerala forms in Sanskrit dramas.

With regard to the second argument, it may be stated that the method of worshipping the statues as recorded in

the *Pratīma* finds its counterpart in the *Ramāyana* itself and the *e* is nothing peculiarly South Indian about it. The so-called statue of a Cera king in a Śiva temple at Tiruvanchikulam which is alleged to have suggested the idea of the *Pratīmagrhas* is quite distinct from the statue-houses in the *Pratīma* where there is the installation and worship of the statues of the dead kings. The discovery of the Śaśunaga statues and the prevalence of the ancient custom of erecting Chhatris (or stone images for departed kings) and offering daily worship and food to them in Rajputana prove that the statues even if they existed in Kerala were not confined to Kerala only.⁵¹

In connection with the next argument which relates to the non participation of Sita in coronation it is seen that Sita does not take part in the first coronation of Rama as Yuvaraja as it was of secondary importance and as Vasistha Vamadeva and others knew beforehand that it was not to take place. Besides by separating Sita the poet depicted the *talkala* incident foreshadowing forest life — Sita however does participate in the main coronation of Rama as king⁵² and hence there can be no reference to the South Indian custom. The non participation of Sita may be justified on the authority of the *Ramāyana* also.⁵³

We shall deal with the *San bandha* marriage later on and shall show that there is absolutely no reference to *Sambandha* marriages in these plays.⁵⁴

Kharapata as already shown is an old master found even in Kautilya and hence the name cannot be said to have been taken from the *Mattavilāsa*. As regards the *Vyāsāsāstra* of Medhatithi it is to be borne in mind that

the reference is put in the mouth of Rāvana, a prehistoric person, in addressing Rāma, and making Rāvana refer to a treatise of the 10th century is absurd on the face of it and a ludicrous anachronism even for a Cakṣār. The name of the work occurs in company with other *Śāstras*, so it cannot be taken to refer to the *Manubhāṣya* by Medhātithi. Besides *nṛ̥yā* means logic, and Gautama is another name for Medhātithi, so the reference is to Gautama's treatise on logic.

Thus, it is seen that these dramas show absolutely no trace of South Indian influence. Now, we have to consider whether these works are adaptations or compilations as has been asserted by antagonists of the Bhāsa theory. It has been proved that the plot and text of the original *Śaṭpā* have not undergone any great transformation, and they have been attested at so early a date as to dispense with considerations of any Kerala influence⁵⁵, and the *Śaṭpā* has been the most popular piece on the Kerala stage. There may have been minor changes here and there in these plays, but they do not alter their authorship. A compilation is a literary work composed of materials culled from different works and authors like the *Purāṇas* or the *Hanūmannātaka*. Every one of the Bhāsa plays has the mark of originality. It is simply absurd to call plays like the *Śaṭpā* or *Avimāraka* compilations. There is always some original idea in these plays which presupposes an original poet or author and not a compiler. Even the *Urubhanga Pañcarātra* and *Balacarita*, not to say of the *Śaṭpā Pratijñā* or *Avimāraka*, are original works and cannot by any stretch of the term be designated as

compilations⁵⁶

Moreover had these been the work of some South Indian playwright the quotations in anthologies or works of rhetoricians would have mentioned his name. Now if these are the stage editions we are not told what the Cakyars have done with the originals. It was suggested quite correctly that the publication of the stage editions of the other plays known to us in standard editions would show us the liberties this school of actors took with the text and the extent to which the originals may have been manipulated⁵⁷. No light however has yet been thrown on the problem.

All the above observations will make it abundantly clear that our plays have not come from Cakya authorship nor are they adaptations or compilations so that no further proof is necessary. In order however to strengthen our case and to place our conclusions beyond reproach the following additional facts are given below which are incompatible with the South Indian origin or connections of these plays.

(1) These plays deal with countries of the north and do not refer at all to countries of the south like Cola Kerala Pandya Pallava etc. or to cities like Madura or Kanci. (2) Kings like Darsaka Pradyota etc. were comparatively unknown to Kerala dramatists. (3) Rivers like Godavari Krishna Kaveri are not mentioned in the plays. (4) These dramas depict patriarchal society as also the veiling of women which were alien to Kerala. (5) The sociological conditions portrayed in these plays show close similarities with the Mauryan conditions which 1

would be impossible for a South Indian writer to depict (vi) These plays exhibit characteristic merits which are quite different from Kerala Sanskrit in general (vii) Cākyārs are not known to have produced dramas similar to our plays, not even a single piece

Thus our plays are the genuine works of Bhāsa, and have nothing to do with the South

YAJÑAPHALAM AND BHĀSA An anonymous drama named *Yajñaphalam* has recently been published by Rajavaidya Jivarama Kalidasa SASTRI of Gondal and has been ascribed by the editor to Bhāsa. I am also inclined to the same view, and state below my reasons therefor, after first dealing briefly with the MSS, the title of the play and its plot

The description of the two MSS of the play reveals that they come from the North, are in Devanāgarī characters, and presumably the substance is paper. The older MS is about 270 years old. Now, these MSS differ in all these three particulars from the MSS of Bhāsa hitherto discovered, which hail from the South, are in Grantha characters, and the substance is palm leaf

The title *Yajñaphalam* (fruit of sacrifice) is more than appropriate for the play as it refers to three different *Yajñaphalas*, of Daśaratha (p. 6) of Viśvamitra (pp. 138ff) and of Janaka (pp. 168, 198ff)

Plot The play is divided into seven acts and deals with the early life of Rāma up to his marriage with Sita. In the first act the Vidūṣaka supplies some humour, after which enters Daśaratha who has obtained sons by the efficacious performance of sacrifice, worrying over the

education of the princes, despite his victories, performance of sacrifices and protection of subjects and the Brāhmanas. He holds conference with Sumantra. Messages come from the three queens desirous of seeing the king, seeking priority, to which the king replies that he would accord the same treatment to all and receive them all at the same time. The king then rises to retire as it was evening (Act I).

The next act tells that the conference is to take place in the Grī-modiāna, which has been cleared of all persons at the command of Daśaratha, who then enters with his retinue, thinking of installing Rāma to Yauvarājya. He sends for Sumantra and tells him of his intention of crowning Rāma and of his vow to Kaikeyī, and desires that Sumantra should try to make the queens, servants, subjects, and especially Bharata, devoted to Rāma. At the sight of the queens coming to meet the king, Sumantra goes away. Then the king opens the topic of coronation with the queens in the course of which, we are referred to different viewpoints regarding inheritance—according to seniority of age or greatness of merit. The king tactfully handles the subject by first speaking of equal division of the kingdom, and finally the queens give their consent to the coronation of Rāma. Kaikeyī displays nobility of character. The queens then depart and the king calls Sumantra and tells him of the whole thing. Sumantra speaks of Vasistha's message to arrange for the education of Rāma. Then Vidūṣaka once more supplies humour. A spy informs that Rāvana has made for Ayodhyā in disguise. Daśaratha then leaves thinking about the steps

to be taken (Act II)

In the interlude to the next act, we are told that two Gandharvas have been sent by Indra to save Rāma from Rāvana in disguise. Then enter Rāvana and Viśvāmitra, both invisible by *mayā*, the latter with the intention of taking Rāma for the protection of his sacrifice. Both, however, see each other, and find that the other also has seen him. Then enter Vasistha and the four princes. Vasistha leaves as it was a holiday, and the princes try to test their knowledge of archery. After Bharata, Lakṣmana and Śatrughna have shown their skill, watched by Rāvana and Viśvāmitra, Rāma also fixes his bow at a target, but his arrow is intercepted twice by Rāvana and Viśvāmitra. Rāma then declares that he would use Agnyastra, at which the terrified Rāvana goes away, followed by Viśvāmitra. The princes, however, find that their palace maids were near the target. Seeing the marks of the chariot of Rāvana, the maids run away in fright, and Rama again aims his bow, but is prevented by the entry of Vasistha, who tells them of the arrival of Viśvāmitra and Rāvana, and advises them to pay respects to Viśvāmitra when they see him the next day. After the departure of all enters Sumantra, who also has known about Viśvāmitra and Rāvana, and he advises the palace servants to be on their guard. (Act III)

Four palace singers hold some humorous talk about Viśvāmitra, who is visiting the king and the princes. All pay their respects to Viśvāmitra, and he enquires about the education of the princes and tests their knowledge. During the course of the test, it transpires that the princes

which Rāma overhears it seems that she has also fallen in love with some one. Her friends however know that she is in love with Rāma and they desire the marriage. Rāma is overjoyed at overhearing that he was the object of Sitā's love and later comes to know that she was to be given in marriage to him who would bend the bow of Śiva. Sitā swoons fearing that Rāma's delicate body would be incapable of performing the feat. Rāma immediately rushes in to console her and comes to know that she was Janakā's daughter. He assures the maidens that he would surely bend the bow. At the sight of Janakā approaching Rāma leaves the stage and the maidens acquaint Sitā with their talks with Rāma. Janakā speaks to Sitā about her approaching marriage and then leaves to meet Viśvāmitra (Act VI).

The last act opens after the completion of Janakā's sacrifice at the court of Janakā with Daśaratha and his sons Viśvāmitra, Vasistha, Śatananda and others. Janakā tells the assembly that he has given Sita in marriage to Rāma and his nieces to the other princes and asks for the sanction of the assembly which they readily give. Daśaratha, Vasistha, Viśvāmitra and Śatananda express their joy and happiness at the marriages. Then enters angry Parāśurama and all pay respects to him. Parāśurama gives his bow to Rāma for lending but sees the divinity in him, feels gratified and offers him his bow respectfully. Parāśurama makes the gift of the world conquered by him to the people assembled and goes for penance. Gods come to felicitate the princes and their brides. The prayers for the protection of the earth by our Rājāsūrya

come at the end (Act VII)

The *Yajñaśālam* presents the same structural features as the other Bhasa play and has the *Mudrālakṣaṇa* for its benedictory stanza with the opening of the *Pravartasava* type. The epilogue contains the main deed of the normal Bhasa epilogue. The other similarities are

1. *Niskramya prastava* in common with the Bhasa play, is found at pp. 31-33. (1) क (कविनेव) which occurs at p. 103 finds a parallel in the *Saṅgita* (p. 30) *Prastava* (pp. 17-71) and *Caradatta* (pp. 5-76).
- (2) There is identity of expression in *Yajña* (p. 64 कविनेव देवदेवनिम्नन्तः) and *Saṅgita* (p. 10 कविनेव देवदेवनिम्नन्तः). *Rajva* is referred to as *bharya* in the *Prastava* (p. 13) and the king is spoken of as *śāstrāśāstrakṣatṛ* in the *Prastava* (VII-11) *śāstrāśāstrakṣatṛ* in the *Yajña* (II-27) may be compared with these. Similes about *śāstrā* and *kesari* about the Vedic lore as also the expression that age has nothing to do with valour in the *Yajñaśālam* find parallels in the Bhasa play.
- (3) The descriptions of the hermitage, evening, pastoral life etc. compare favourably with those in the *Saṅgita*, *Prastava*, *Prastava* and *Bhāṣya* and do not show any late influence as is contended by some. *Rajva*'s love-sick condition in the *Yajña* (Act VI) is similar to that of *Prastava* (Act II).
- (4) *Śāstrā* verses which have been observed as a feature of the Bhasa plays are found in the *Yajña* II-9, III-23, 24, IV-20.
- (5) *Vijaya* is the name of *Prastava* in the *Yajña* is common with the *Saṅgita*, *Prastava*, *Prastava* and *Bhāṣya*.
- (6) Bhasa employs triads to relate events etc. In the *Yajña* are found the *śāstrāśāstrakṣatṛ* warriors etc. (7) *Bhāṣya*

statement *Sūtradhāraḥkṛtārambhāḥ* etc. can be shown to be applicable to the *Yajñaphalam*, for it is begun by the *Sūtradhāra*, it has a large number of characters, viz 45, and they come from various walks of life, there are many *patākās*, such as Daśaratha's conference with the queens, Rāvana's foiling the *astras* of Rāma, Viśvāmītra's sacrifice, etc., and there is pure, holy atmosphere in the *Yajña* comparable to temples (9) *Vidūsaka* and the palace singers supply an amount of humour, which would conform to Jayadeva's description of Bhāsa as "laughter of poetry" (10) Features of antiquity in the *Yajña* are its references to old sciences (pp 41, 42, 116) and to the generic term *sūarna* (p 7) for coins (11) Felicity of expression, pure, simple, chaste style, unimpeded flow of language, fine simple similes and other simple figures of speech,—are on a par with the Bhāsa plays (12) One further test may also be employed in considering the authorship of Bhāsa. It is already stated that Kālidāsa's works show many echoes from Bhāsa, though strict proof of borrowing, it is impossible to furnish. Notable parallels with Kālidāsa are the following *Yajña*, I 9 with *Raghu*, V 13, *Yajña*, II 41, with *Śakuntala* II 18, *Yajña*, III 38 39 with *Śāk* I 10-11, *Yajña*, V 14 with *Śāk*, VII 4⁵⁸

Thus, the *Yajña* is the work of Bhāsa. The consideration of matter and manner along with the proportion of verses and dialogues shows the work to belong to the final period of the poet between the composition of the *Pratimā* and *Pratijñā*

CHARACTERISTICS AND DEFECTS So far we

studied the plays of Bhasa from different points and found that they display a wide range of characters incident situation and emotions. Bhasa's characters are simple human and extremely life-like. The poet had a special liking for *Vijaya Hanu Karuna Raudra Adbhuta* and *Vatasa Rasi*. Bhasa is a close observer of nature and his descriptions of natural phenomena are interesting realistic and vivid. He is also an adept in graphic narration and vivid description of episodes events and characters without bringing them on the stage. Among figures of speech Bhasa goes in for the simple ones. The style is flowing and direct. We find in Bhasa an adequate and forcible expression of strong emotion. Bhasa is a past master at depicting irony. The poet fondness for pithy proverbial sayings is evident from their large number in each play. Bhasa is also fond of the simple and sententious and avoids ornamentation artifices and word jugglery. Bhasa's dialogues are crisp and highly dramatic. He disregards the rules of the *Vivisaya* in various particulars and in the *Crishajaya* we find a real tragedy. Every one of these plays is a dramatic masterpiece wonderfully adapted for the stage. The plays satisfy the test laid down by Bharata that they can be witnessed unembarrassed even in the presence of one's parents father in law daughter in law etc.⁵⁹

Finally we shall refer to the defects of Bhasa. Bhasa is the product of the age he lived in and hence naturally he has firm faith in the *Varna*, *ramadharma* and in the efficacy of sacrifices and of *dakshina*. He believes in the existence of gods and upholds Brahmana's superiority.

In consonance with the prevalent tendencies of his day, Bhāsa sees nothing unnatural in polygamy which is repugnant to the modern critic. These views and beliefs of the poet cannot be termed defects of Bhāsa. ¶ The first drawback is that the poet entirely ignores the unity of time. Instances may be found in the *Bālacarita*, *Aśvamedha*, *Svapna*, *Carudatta*, etc. ¶ Another defect is found in the use of *niskramya pravṛtṣya*, by which news is immediately brought of events which must have taken a long time to happen. ¶ The use of *Ākasabhāsita*, though economical from the theatrical point, appears as unnatural and unimpressive. The entry of some characters unannounced is yet another defect. A similar defect is the speech of characters who are not on the stage. Some of the similes and metaphors are often repeated in a mechanical way, and are more or less conventional. Lack of topographical knowledge of the South is responsible for the descriptions of Janasthāna, Kiskindhā, Lankā etc. being without the touch of reality. ¶ All these defects however are quite insignificant as compared to the merits in the works of the pioneer Sanskrit dramatist, and serve only to accentuate the merits of Bhāsa as does the black spot enhance the beauty of the moon.

CHAPTER V

BHĀSA'S INDIA

The sociological conditions in India present many unique features. There are similarities in social conditions of different epochs widely distant in time, as also of provinces widely apart, whereas we also come across divergent practices current in the same province during the same period. Conservatism of the general populace is responsible for the maintenance of most of the social conditions practically unchanged throughout at least three thousand years. While considering the social conditions portrayed by Bhāsa, distinction is to be made between the conditions relating to the age of Bhāsa and those relating to the age of the incidents depicted in the plays.

VARNĀŚRAMADHARMA

Varnāśramadharma is the distinguishing characteristic of Hindu society from ancient times. In Bhāsa, we find mention of the four principal castes. It appears that the castes were based on birth in those days also. The Brāhmanas were the caste *par excellence*, and the sacred thread was their badge and distinguishing mark. The superiority of the Brāhmanas is apparent from the attitude Bhāsa bears towards them. The word of a Brahmana always commanded respect, and it was never to be

contradicted, even untrue statements emanating from a Brāhmana were regarded as true. The Brāhmanas also prided in that they never uttered falsehood in their life.¹ So much reliance was placed in the pronouncements of a Brahmana that the curse issuing from a Brāhmana was regarded as infallible and people tried to make it efficacious.² The Brāhmanas were superior to the Ksatriyas being their preceptors. The Ksatriyas were enjoined to give everything to a Brāhmana and leave only their bows to their sons. It was thought a disgrace for a Ksatriya if the *guru* were poor, the religious merit of a sacrifice was rendered futile and the wealth regarded as wasted in the absence of the satisfaction of the preceptor.³ Saving the life of a Brāhmana at the cost of one's own body was very highly thought of.⁴

The exalted position of the Brahmanas brought in its train the prevalence of Brahmanical institution of sacrifice and other rites and ceremonies and praises of *Dakṣiṇā*. The festivals of *Ratnasasthi*, *Kālāstamī* and *Caturdaśī* are mentioned on which the payments of golden *Dakṣiṇā* and serving a sumptuous dinner to the Brahmanas were the principal factors.) Sacrifices were in vogue and the minute descriptions show that they were performed in accordance with the rules laid down in the *Śāstras*. The Brahmanas were proficient in the *Vedas* and *Vedāṅgas*, as also in different *Śāstras* such as the *Dharmasastra*, *Arthaśāstra*, *Yogaśāstra*, *Nyāyasāstra*, *Śrāddhakalpa*, etc.⁵ These were included in the normal course of a learned Brahmana. Despite this spread of learning in the traditional lore among the Brāhmanas, it was not rare to find a thoroughly

ignorant and illiterate Brahman⁶ There were some who simply learnt the *mantras* by heart without knowing the meaning ⁶

It appears that the Brahmanas were immune from capital punishment in spite of any offence committed by them They were to be let off ⁷ This seems to have followed as a natural, corollary of the superiority of the Brahmanas who appear as a privileged class even in the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya a political manual which professes to give equal treatment to all

KṢĀTRIIYAS (The Kṣatriyas occupied a prominent position in the hierarchy of castes being next in importance only to the Brahmanas whom they held in high esteem) Protection of their subjects was the main duty of the Kṣatriyas Their glory depended on their skill at archery and valour in war and their greatness was counted not on wealth but on their charities sacrifices etc The Kṣatriyas have been advised to perform sacrifices and feed the Brahmanas and the poor at them as the renown and merit obtained thereby endure long after the physical body has perished It is only the virtues and good deeds that last after death ⁸ The Kṣatriyas were not to be addressed by mere names by the ordinary people but some honorific title was prefixed to their names ⁹ The Kṣatriyas did not contest or contradict the statements of the Brahmanas and preferred to remain silent rather than insult a Brahmana

VAISYAS (The Vaisyas are incidentally mentioned in the *Cārudatta* where references are made to their going to foreign countries for trade and to their taking circuitous routes as the roads were infested by robbers and thieves ¹⁰

We get a glimpse into the life of the herdsmen who tended cattle in the *Pancaratra* and the *Balacarita* which tell us that the cows were as mothers and goddesses to these herdsman and their first duty on getting up was to worship these cow mothers. They invoke blessings and peace to their cows in their prayers to the gods. Among traders references are found to florists painters washermen shampooers etc

ŚUDRAS The Śudras are mentioned in the *Pratima* and the *Pancaratra* and there are passages which indicate that untouchability was observed in those days at least in connection with religious functions¹¹. As the Śudras were not permitted to study the scriptures they worshipped the deities without chanting any *mantras*. Even courtesans thought it improper and disgraceful even to fall in love with a Śudra youth¹².

There are no references in our plays to mixed castes which arose out of intermarriages.

CANDALAS The Candalas were outside the sphere of *Calurniarya*. They had their residences outside cities beyond the cremation grounds. Even the sight of a Candala polluted the caste people and they were looked on as incapable of feelings of sympathy and mercy and destitute of good speech fine form valour and strength. A Śvapaka among the Candalas was regarded with so much disgust that a person addressing a Brahmana as Śvapaka was cursed to become a Śvapaka forthwith¹³.

It may be safely presumed that the inter relations of the different castes were cordial.

OCCUPATIONS The scriptural injunctions regarding the various occupations to be followed by the respective castes do not appear to have been strictly enforced. We find a Brahmana youth engaging himself in trade (Carudatta) and another albeit under the influence of cupid stooping to housebreaking at night (Sajjalaka).

AŚRAMAS The system of the four orders also is an old institution. Bhasa gives us some particulars about the four stages in life and the respective duties attached to them.

BRAHMACARYA Brahmacharya or the life of a student was the first stage. After Upanayana (investiture with the sacred thread) the boy stayed with the *guru* for the study of the *Vedas*. Disciples were entrusted to the care of tutors when quite young and hence the responsibility as to their proper training and behaviour rested with the tutor and not with their parents.¹¹ Residence with the preceptor in a hermitage for studies carried with it the performance of household duties such as the bringing of fruit fuel grass etc from the forests. Certain specified days were observed as holidays (Anadhyaya). A student generally stayed with the preceptor till the completion of his studies unless some extraordinary circumstance intervened.¹² Every student paid some fees to his tutors after the course was completed. It was the proud privilege of the pupil to make the gift of the desired object to his *guru* and every one strove to obtain what was physically feasible. There were however some black sheep who were reluctant to undergo the rigours of celibate life and looked forward with greater

joy to the day of their Samavartana when they would return home ¹⁶

GRHASTHĀŚRAMA One entered the life of a householder after leading a student's life. High ideals of married life have been placed before us by the poet to which reference is made in the next section. Oblation to household deities and to Matrkas and placing lamps on the street points were the daily duties of a householder howsoever poor he may be. Offering of funeral oblation to the manes (Śraddha) was one of the sacred duties and every dutiful son tried to perform it to the best of his ability and means taking care to offer whatever was most liked by the manes although whatever was given in true faith (Śraddha) constituted Śraddha ¹⁷ Both husband and wife respected each other. The wife followed her lord through thick and thin. To a faithful chaste and devoted wife the husband was her all in all and his wish or desire was her sacred code of conduct. Women avoided the sight of strangers as it was thought improper. Men also avoided the sight of other women and were responsible for the welfare and happiness of their wives. Guests were honoured with the traditional Hindu hospitality. His feet were washed and he was served both by the husband and wife. Feeding a guest was regarded as equivalent to the performance of a sacrifice. After suitable treatment the guest was escorted up to the door ¹⁸

VĀNAPRASTHA After performing his duties and fulfilling his obligations as a householder a person entered the life of a Vanaprastha, (hermit). There were two classes of hermits viz Tapasa and Parivrajaka the former

lived in hermitages while the latter were wandering monks living itinerant life. We are supplied with a fine vivid and realistic picture of the hermitage of those days.¹⁹ The hermitages were outside cities away from the din and bustle of the town and were open to everybody irrespective of caste colour and creed. Peace sanctity and abundance reigned there. The deer roamed about freely the trees were laden with flowers and fruit and the cows supplied pure milk to the inmates. The hermitages were cosmopolitan in nature and the inmates were all satisfied having no worldly desires. They passed their time in meditation living on fruit and milk and had three baths daily. Lines of smoke used to rise from the hermitage during midday and evening. The dowager queen of Magadha living in the hermitage near Rajagṛha belonged to the Tapasa class of Vanaprastha and Yaugandharayana in disguise was a Parivrajaka.

SANNYASA Sannyasa is the final stage in the life of a Brahmana and it is alluded to even in Panini signifying thereby that the Hindus did not copy the institution from the Buddhists. The Sannyasins put on red garments. There were quite a number of people in those days who put on red garbs to cloak beggary and earn livelihood in an apparently honourable fashion.²⁰

FAMILY LIFE

JOINT FAMILY SYSTEM Upto the end of the last century when as a result of western influence there has begun the disintegration of joint family the joint family system was not such a rarity that it is at present. In fact the Hindu Law as administered by the British

courts has taken the joint family system as the normal type of Hindu Family Life In Bhasa we get references to joint family where the lady of the house had to serve her old father in law and mother in law There is also a reference to a person living with the relatives of his wife ²¹ Not only was the presence of the elders adored by according respectable treatment to them but the mere mention of a revered or divine person was honoured by the listener by getting up from his seat ²²

FORMS OF MARRIAGE Marriage is the most important factor in the family life According to the Hindu notions marriage is a sacrament not a contract The *Dharmasūtras* and *Smritis* mention eight different forms of marriage viz

नाम्नो देवस्तयेनापि प्राजापत्यस्तथासुर ।

गात्रया राक्षसश्चैव पिशाचश्चाष्टमाऽयम् ॥

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In Bhasa we get instances of the Brahma Kṣatra Gandharva Rikṣasa and Asura marriages The marriage between Padmavati and Vatsaraja in the *Śaṭpāṇa* was in the most approved form of marriage (Brahma) as king Darśaka himself invited Vatsaraja and offered him the hand of his sister King Kaśiraja in the *Avimaraka* on behalf of his son Jayavarman had sent an envoy to king Kuntibhoja for the hand of the latter's daughter and the marriage of prince Jayavarman with Sumitra belongs to the Kṣatra form The love marriage of Avimaraka and Kuringi related in the *Avimaraka* exemplifies the Gandharva form The match between Udayana and

other eventualities also were taken into account, and marriages were arranged avoiding undue haste and procrastination. One golden rule about the selection of a bridegroom is stated to be 'Marry your daughter where there would be no cause for repentance' ²⁵ The parents of the bride consulted each other regarding the selection of a suitable son-in-law, and not only did the mother exercise her right in the matter, but her view carried great weight. It appears that brides themselves also had some voice in the selection of the bridegroom ²⁶

MARRIAGE CEREMONY Envoys and priests used to be despatched from the bridegroom's father to the father of the bride to seek the bride's hand in marriage. Thereafter, the decision and selection rested with the parents of the bride. The marriage ceremony was celebrated at the house of the bride's father. The female relatives of the bride went to receive the bridegroom, who came in a specially fashioned car. Young women, who were not widows escorted the bridegroom to the sacred fire for the marriage ceremony. *Kautukamangala* was a pre-nuptial rite of tying a piece of thread on the wrist, which was performed on an auspicious day. A garland called *Kautukamālā* was worn by the bride on this day, and herbs credited with bringing in permanent prosperity and warding off evils were generously entwined in the garland. In some cases, another herb reputed to ruin the co-wives was also employed. The palms of the bride were dyed red and she put the colour in her parted hair. The religious ceremonies were performed not only in the case of the Brāhma and Kṣātra marriages, but in the

Vāsavadattā in the *Pratijñā*, was cemented by love, and hence their marriage as observed by king Pradyota Mahāsena, the father of Vasavadatta, was under the Gāndhārva form²² This marriage, however, may also be taken to come under the Raksasa form, as Vasavadatta was captured from her relatives by Udayana The marriage of Daśaratha and Kaikeyī referred to in the *Pratimā*²³ in which there was a contract for dowry, falls under the Āsura form The relations between Sajjalaka and Madanikā and Cārudatta and Vasantasena suggest Anuloma marriages The Anuloma marriages though not approved by the *Smṛtis*, were allowed but the Pratiloma marriages were strictly prohibited

QUALITIES IN A BRIDEGROOM Marriages were contracted after considering and examining the problem from various aspects The main factor in the view of the bride's father was the family of the bridegroom, evidently for the sake of following the *Smṛti* rules about endogamy and *Sapindya* The bride's father desired a celebrated family for the bridegroom The next considerations were the qualities of the head and heart of the bridegroom Preference was given to one with a sympathetic and tender heart Then came the beauty of physical form, not on account of any inherent merit in it, but in order to save the bride's father from the criticisms of the womenfolk on his side on account of the features of the bridegroom Strength and valour counted much in a bridegroom as he was required to be sufficiently powerful to protect his bride In addition to the consideration of merits in a bridegroom the surrounding circumstances, political expediency and

other eventualities also were taken into account, and marriages were arranged avoiding undue haste and procrastination. One golden rule about the selection of a bridegroom is stated to be "Marry your daughter where there would be no cause for repentance" ²⁵ The parents of the bride consulted each other regarding the selection of a suitable son-in-law, and not only did the mother exercise her right in the matter, but her view carried great weight. It appears that brides themselves also had some voice in the selection of the bridegroom ²⁶

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Gandharva form also which was celebrated in the presence of the sacred fire. In the absence of both Udayana and Vasavadatta king Mahasena celebrated the marriage of their portraits."

SAPINDA EXOGAMY The marriage of Avimaraka with Kurangi is specially important on account of its disregarding the rule of *Sapinda* exogamy. The *Dharmaśāstras* and *Smṛtis* prohibited marriages with the *Sapindas* who include paternal relations to the seventh and maternal to the fifth degrees. In the *Avimaraka* as would be clear from the relationship already told while giving the plot of the play we find that Avimaraka marries Kurangi who is both his maternal uncle's daughter and also his paternal aunt's daughter both these relationships fall within the prohibited degrees of marriage. Now marriages with maternal uncle's daughter are not uncommon in certain communities and countries being recognized by Baudhāyana and approved by local custom. Marriages with paternal uncle's daughter however are uncommon and run directly counter to the *Smṛti* injunctions suggesting a fairly old time for our author before the prohibitions in the *Smṛtis* were strictly enforced.

SAMBANDHA MARRIAGES As an argument strengthening the case of the South Indian origin and the spuriousness of these plays it is contended on the basis of the strange use of the word *Sambandha* in some of these plays that the *Sambandha* marriages current in the South are referred to in these plays". It may however be pointed out at the outset that at all those places the word has been used in its simple sense of 'relationship'.

The *Sambandha* is a substitute for a Hindu marriage among the Nayers and Ksatriyas by which following the Anuloma principle, a man enters into a more or less permanent sexual relationship with a woman, with right of divorce. The central features of the *Sambandha* ceremony are the presentation of bridal clothes by the bridegroom and a social dinner. No Sanskrit *mantras* are recited. The wife does not share the religious life of her husband and the husband does not interdine with his wife. The issues of the marriage take the mother's caste. The formal ritual for divorce consists of the cutting into two of a piece of thread or cloth. The *Sambandha* marriage is the popular form of marriage except in the case of Brāhmana women, and is an ancient trait of Malabar culture²⁹. In view of these special features of the *Sambandha* marriage, we find that neither the marriage of Vāsavadattā nor that of Kurangī which are alleged to be *Sambandha* marriages, can be styled as such. Both husband and wife belong to the same Ksatriya caste, and the ceremony is performed with the chanting of the *mantras* in the presence of the sacred fire. These being Śvarṇa marriages, no question arises as to the status of the wife or children. The idea of divorce is absolutely absent in these ancient marriages. It may, therefore, be concluded that there is no reference to the *Sambandha* marriage in these plays.

CHILD MARRIAGES AND POLYGAMY Looking to the description of the princesses we are inclined to think that they were grown up, and that, therefore there were no child marriages in those days. The *Smṛti* rule enforcing child marriages pertains to a late date

Polygamy was a fashion among the royalty and the rich. Monogamy seems to be generally prevalent among the commoners.

POSITION OF WOMEN The next topic is the consideration of the position of women at that period and we shall deal with it under these heads: maidens, married women, widows, *Gosthijanas*, *Purdah* system and *Sati*.

(a) **Maidens** The birth of a female child was an honour and an occasion for great joy in those days. Maidens enjoyed perfect freedom at their parents' house. The princesses passed their time in the company of their friends playing the game of ball and enjoying similar jolly pastimes. They learnt music and dance, grew different kinds of shrubs in their gardens and had parrots, peacocks, etc. as playmates. Maidens moved freely in the public without veil. The sight of a maiden was free from any taint. It was thought inauspicious for a maiden not to decorate herself.³⁰

(b) **Married Women** High ideals of the duties of a husband and a wife are placed before us in the characters of the *Stapna*, *Pratima*, *Carudatta*, etc. The husband was the lord and protector of the wife who was half his body to the husband and the mistress of his household. It was the prime duty of a wife to follow her husband through all circumstances despite any defects in him. Attendance on elders, especially the parents of the husband, constituted one of the duties of the wife. Happiness and welfare of the husband were the sole aims of the wife and for the sake of ensuring these she sacrificed her likes and dislikes. She even consented to his marriage with another woman.

No sacrifice was considered too great for the sake of the husband and the wife of poor Cārudatta parts with her pearl necklace in order to guard his honour, Sītā, though pure of body and heart, agrees to undergo the fire ordeal in order to satisfy her husband. Wives undertook a number of fasts and penances and gave feasts and *dakṣiṇās* to the Brāhmanas to secure the welfare of their husbands ³¹

Women lived in the inner apartments of the house, and no stranger got entry inside. Even women of questionable character were not allowed to go inside ³²

About the toilet of women in those days we learn that married women braided their hair in three plaits when in company with their husbands and in one when the husband was away. They dyed their hands, put on powder decoration in the parting of hair, painted their forehead and cheeks and put collyrium in the eyes. Among ornaments, Kundalas, Keyūras, Nūpuras and various kinds of garlands etc are mentioned. Poor women used sprouts of the Tālī tree to grace their ears. Mirror is referred to in the *Pratimā* and *Abhiseka* ³³

(c) Widows. It appears that widows were excluded on auspicious occasions. They dressed themselves differently from married women with husbands living and did not use ornaments and toilet ³⁴. There is no reference to the remarriage of widows.

(d) Gosthijanas. There was a class of women known as Gosthijanas who were gay, cultured, talented and possessed great conversational powers. They were quite distinct from the prostitutes. It seems that the Gosthijanas were employed in royal palaces or in the household of the

rich in order to amuse ladies of the family ³⁵

(e) *Purdah System* Some references in these plays suggest that women in those days used to veil their face including the head. But there was no seclusion of women or their confinement to the inner apartments which characterized the later *Purdah* introduced by the Muslims in India. The covering of the head was not used by the maidens who moved about quite freely. Widows possibly did not cover their hair. Even courtesans were veiled when they passed in their carriages ³⁶

(f) *Sati* There is only an incidental reference to the ascending of the funeral pyre of her husband by a wife which is not sufficient to justify our inference as to the prevalence of the system of *Sati* in those days. It is no doubt a *Ksatriya* institution and came into prominence in the mediaeval times under Rajput princes ³⁷

4 URBAN AND RURAL LIFE

The plays mention some of the well known big cities of ancient India and give a somewhat fair description of Mathura, Varanasi and Ujjayini which may be taken as typifying the cities of the period. The description of Lanka no doubt testifying to its splendour and affluence reads like a fairy tale with its mansions, turrets of gold, parks adorned with coral trees, *pramadaiana* with gold and gems etc. The poet however strikes a realistic note when he refers to the other aspects of city life. Each house had an inner apartment and a hall. The city had public baths and drinking houses, parks and gardens, artificial lakes and mountains ³⁸

After crossing the Yamuna one came across the forti

fied walls and gates of Mathura and after entry were to be found the city guards mounted on elephants. Thereafter came the quarters of washermen along the main road which used to be decorated with flags, banners and floral garlands and scented by *aguru* and sandal smoke on festive occasions. The shops of garland makers, florists, perfumers etc. were ranged in succession and after a short distance were the armoury and the court. To the centre of the city was a stadium where wrestling competitions and prize fights were staged. The royal balcony was built high up on one side of the arena from where the royalty witnessed the show.³⁹

More realistic and typical of the average city of the period are the descriptions of Varanṭya, the capital of Kuntibhoja, Avanti and Ujjayini.⁴⁰ The city had palatial buildings in the market place with snow white colour on both sides of the road. The verandahs on the ground floor were used as shops for selling country sugar, honey and other commodities. The upper storeys were the residential quarters where the fashionable city bred beaux and courtesans vied with each other in showing them *élves* in their best attire and they were to be seen walking to and fro in the balconies of their respective quarters with a view to see and to be seen. The courtesans followed their trade in the business quarters of the city, possibly in the centre of the town, but they had to reside outside. The public gaming house was situated at a prominent place in the city with its own gaming laws and regulations, paying revenue out of the proceeds to the state. There were also public squares in the cities called *nagaraka aras* where

bulls dedicated to deities roamed about freely after being sumptuously fed, and none dared to touch them. The city had also a public park where citizens could go with their wives and make merry, but it was strictly guarded and entry restricted when royal princesses visited the place with their retinue. Avantī had a public drinking house and tavern keepers selling liquor. There were public rest houses where travellers could put up for some time. Public baths in Ujjayinī possibly on the *ghats* of the Śiprā, are incidentally referred to⁴¹. Important cities were fortified on all sides. Underground drains which have been a speciality of India since ancient times are to be met with also in the period under consideration, the reference being to streets flooded due to the choking of the drain⁴².

Just outside the city, were situated big parks where citizens of both sexes went on festive occasions. Well watered green trees and blossoming gardens suggested the vicinity of a city, as these gardens, which were well cared for, presented quite a different aspect from the dried up and leafless trees that one came across along one's way⁴³. The dwellings of the Candalas were beyond the limits of the city where they resided with their families and cattle. Residences of cowherds and courtesans also were outside the cities⁴⁴.

CITY AT NIGHT. A beautiful description of the city at night is furnished by the *Atimāraka* and *Cārudatta*⁴⁵. There were beatings of drum and proclamation at the beginning and close of night to warn citizens against moving outside during the period. The prohibition

However does not seem to have been strictly followed. Night guards and watchmen used to patrol the streets. Despite these precautions thieves were not uncommon with their swords, ropes and measuring cords. There were also bravados and favourites of the king who with the help of their servants pursued unwilling courtesans and followed their nefarious practices escaping the attention of the night guards.

The city was completely plunged in darkness during night save what little light came from the windows of the rows of buildings on the sides of the roads. There were no lamp posts and no arrangements were made for lighting the streets. Those wandering during night used to take lamps with them. There were held singing and music parties during night which continued till a very late hour and men of the status of Carudatta felt no hesitation in attending them. Some persons perhaps the cultured among the rich practised song and music in their own residences and ladies in respectable families were educated in these arts.⁴⁶

LIFE OF A NAGARAJA An ideal thoroughbred gentleman of the town was kind to servants and generous to a fault spending his wealth for the sake of others leaving nothing with him like a dried up stream in summer that has quenched the thirst of many a traveller.⁴⁷ He was ready to appreciate and reward good works and deeds of valour. His merits and good deeds created such a fine and forceful impression among even the dare-devils that they were afraid of his virtues. It was considered by them sacrilegious to offend or insult such a person. He was

A lover of music and at nightfall used to visit musical concerts where vocal and instrumental music was performed occasionally attended with dances. Always ready to help others he never boasted of his charity, nor kept any memory of insults or offences done to him. He was so modest as to regard even his own body as belonging to others. Gentlemen in those days kept champooers to massage their bodies and it is interesting to note that Vatsyavāna recommends massage every other day. It appears that they also used to have aromatic smoke after bath. From the two examples supplied to us we may say that a Nāgaraka of those days was not very scrupulous with regard to sexual morals but it cannot be said that moral standards were lax in those days. Both the gentlemen loved courtesans with a desire to matrimony and not merely as a momentary diversion.

RESIDENTIAL QUARTERS As regards residential quarters of the general public our plays do not throw much light on the construction or the interior of the house. It seems that the residences of persons of the upper middle class of the status of Carudatta were built of bricks and were surrounded by gardens. There were quadrangular courtyards in the houses and different apartments each containing a number of rooms were built of which one was reserved for ladies. In the quadrangular courtyard men used to meditate or meet the visitors and the passage to the inner apartments lay through the courtyard. The inner apartments were quite inaccessible to strangers and persons of questionable characters such as courtesans were not admitted inside. The sanctity of the inner apartment

was supposed to suffer even if ornaments worn by courtesans were kept in them. It appears that there were separate servants' quarters and the mistress of the household at times had to make a big sound of the door panels to attract the attention of her maid.

The palatial establishment of a courtesan indicating the flourishing condition of the different arts and crafts so elaborately dealt with by the author of the *Vyccakastika* has been very modestly described by our author.¹¹ In contrast to the portal made of ivory, the doors of gold, gaming table with jewelled chess board, paintings, music, halls, culinary, jewellery, perfumery, botanical and zoological gardens as well as an aviary with a number of caged and tamed birds showing the splendour of a typical mansion we meet only the *Pundits*, goldsmiths, cooks and musicians in the account given in our play. At another place the painter's board and other instruments are referred to as being kept in an apartment of the house.

There is no mention in any of the plays of any furniture such as chairs, coaches, mosquito-curt, *Jalakas* mention these articles and Vatsya, carpets, cushions etc.

RURAL LIFE The cowherds in the *Pulastika* convey to us some idea of the peaceful days.¹² Ascribing divinity to cows and their milk on special occasions has been in vogue long and was current at the time of the *Upanishads* where goddesses to the herdsmen and their milk were related to the well-being of the relatives as ascertained later on. The cow

was supposed to suffer even if ornaments worn by courtesans were kept in them. It appears that there were separate servants' quarters and the mistress of the household at times had to make a big sound of the door panels to attract the attention of her maid.

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There is no mention in any of the plays of any furniture such as chairs, coaches, mosquito curtains, etc. The *Jātakas* mention these articles, and Vatsyayana mentions carpets cushions etc.

RURAL LIFE The cowherds in the *Pañcaratra* and *Balacarita* convey to us some idea of the pastoral life of those days.⁴⁹ Ascribing divinity to cows and worshipping them on special occasions has been in vogue in India since long, and was current at the time of these plays. Cows were goddesses to the herdsmen and the first question of their greeting related to the well being of the cows that of the relatives was asked later on. The cowherds were taken

to be pure by nature on account of their life in the *Ghosa*. It is interesting to note that of the various methods of purification to remove pollution, only two methods, viz application of dust and plunging into water, are referred to in the *Bālacarita* and the application of dust is mentioned as the usual purificatory form for the cowherds⁵⁰. The cowherds made ready for merry-making and dance on the occasion of special festivities such as the king's birthday or the Indrayajña or Dhanurmaha festivals. *Hallisaka* was their special dance on such occasions, wherein youths of both sexes participated. Old herdsmen acted as spectators for these mixed dances in which the youngsters appeared in their best dresses. These cowherds were susceptible to common superstitions, and the shrill cawing of a crow facing the sun on a dry branch of a dry tree was an inauspicious omen to them. They resided in the suburbs and had plenty of milk and its products, fruit, root etc. Their humble dwellings appeared as quite *samṛddha* to them, and their prayers were for peace, blessings and freedom from harm to the divine cows and to their own families.

GENERAL ASPECTS OF SOCIAL LIFE. (a) FOOD, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS. Though vegetable and animal food was taken by the Indian in the Vedic Age, restrictions regarding meat-eating and liquor were placed during the epic period. In our plays, we find only a single reference to an article from the non-vegetarian menu, viz a piece of mutton saturated with salt and ghee⁵¹; the reference is to a non Brāhmana and it seems safe to infer that meat-eating was not current among the

Brāhmanas Sugar-balls (*modakamallaka*) ghee (*ghīdam*), molasses (*gulam*), clarified butter (*dahim*), rice (*landula*), and rice-cake fried in ghee (*neubbhāmana*) are the different food stuffs mentioned. Condiments of various kinds were used to flavour dishes. There is also a reference to the sale of liquor in a public tavern, and Lankā and Vairantya are described as having public drinking houses.

As regards dress, Indians used to wear two pieces of cloth for a long time since the Vedic Age, the one as a lower garment and the other, an upper one (*uttariya*). The upper garments of the fashionable city-bred gentlemen in the period of our poet were generally scented. It appears that the Brāhmanas and the Ksatriyas dressed themselves differently in Ayodhya while there was no such distinction in the Kekaya country.⁵² Occasionally a turban was worn round the head by important personages and kings. Ornaments of gold and jewellery were worn on their wrists, necks, etc. both by males and females. Clothes made of grass were usually worn by anchorites. Valkalas were bark garments made from the barks of trees.

(b) CONVEYANCES. Elephants, chariots, carts and carriages of different types, horses and bulls have been mentioned as means of conveyance. Elephants were used by the rich and the royalty. Chariots were drawn by horses and donkeys⁵³ though the latter were also employed as beasts of burden. Though donkeys have generally been looked down with contempt and restricted to the humblest services, they were used for drawing chariots in the Buddhist and the Mauryan Age. There were different

Dreams and omens were interpreted by royal astrologers and their directions were followed. The performance of Śanti and feeding the Brāhmanas were regarded as antidotes for the evils, and they were thought to ward away ill omens and bring prosperity.

(d) AMUSEMENTS There are references to a number of sports and festivities in our plays. *Indramaha* and *Dhanurmaha* appear to be the festivals of the cowherds⁵⁶. The city was decorated for the *Dhanurmaha*, and a vast stadium was specially prepared for wrestling bouts and other feats, such as the bending of a bow, connected with the festival. The king sent invitations to celebrated wrestlers and distinguished citizens to attend the festival. The king himself attended the main fights and observed them from the balcony of his palace. *Indramaha* was a ceremony connected with Indra, and the cowherds used to offer oblations of food to Indra on the occasion. Another special sport in which the herdsmen participated was the *Hallisaka*. It was a circular dance performed by women under the direction of one man, or in which the circle consisted of males and females alternately arranged.

The *Kāmadevamahotsava* or *Kamadevānuyāna* was a festival connected with cupid in which young persons mixed freely with maidens and these were the occasions of many a love marriage⁵⁷. Garden parties were held in parks, which, as already stated were both inside and outside the cities, and youths of both sexes participated in them. There was also a festival in honour of the sage Agastya which was celebrated on Mount Malaya in which the Vidyādhara took part. Wrestling was a favourite

copper, silver or gold weighing one *māsa*

(f) **HIGH TONE OF MORALITY** The general impression created by the plays is that on the whole high tone of morality prevailed in those days, and the people lived almost a simple, straightforward life. This will also appear from the following instances

Everybody valued his or her words, so that it was thought improper to go back on one's word after announcing a particular thing. It was also regarded as improper to hear the secrets of others. There was so much revolt against falsehood that lies even in jest were not tolerated.⁶⁰ Deposit of articles was scrupulously preserved even in the absence of witnesses. High ideal of friendship is seen from the relations of Karna and Duryodhana and Avimāraka and Santuṣṭa. That sanctity of marriage relationship was strictly enforced would appear from the remarks of Avimāraka and Arjuna which would also show the high regard for moral standards.

(g) **DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD** From the reference to the placing of the dead body on the funeral pyre it appears that cremation was current in those days.⁶¹ It would be a bold assertion to assume that the dead bodies of children were abandoned outside the cities,⁶² the custom does not, however, appear to be merely local or pertaining only to herdsmen as it is said to be the way of the world. The reference to the throwing out of the corpses of Kamsa, Cānura and Muṣṭika need not necessarily be taken as referring to the general custom because the three persons were treated as the enemies of Viṣṇu, and further we do not know whether the corpses were merely to be

of social life In Bhāsa we find references to gambling, theft, prostitution, and also to the prevalence of slavery

GAMBLING As already stated, the Vedic Indian was an inveterate gambler It appears that there was an unwritten law among the gamblers that insults and defeats at the game of dice are to be meekly put up with, the brave looked down upon those unable to bear these things in a sportsman like spirit Public gaming halls in big cities and palace buildings are alluded to in different plays People took to gambling for their maintenance, and it was not thought dishonourable for a perfect city bred gentleman like Cārudatta to lose in dice Every gambler thought himself in duty bound to pay his debts incurred at the gaming table The *Micchakātika* dilates upon the authority of *Sabhika*, the master of the gaming house He had authority over the body of the debtor, he could inflict any physical punishment, could imprison him, or could even sell him ⁶²

PROSTITUTION In the period represented by our plays, courtesans were cultured and proficient in song, music, dance and painting, some of them possessed sterling character, and cared more for love than for money Courtesans were generally more educated and better skilled in fine arts than married women, and hence gentlemen like Carudatta and Sajjalaka were attracted to them on account of their exceptional qualities Courtesans possessing all virtues were not rare Vita, a person associated with prostitutes, was a cultured man reduced to poverty owing to full enjoyment of his wealth The fact that he employs Sanskrit shows him to be a well read

man Vatsyayana regards marriages with prostitutes valid for only one year

THEFT Thievery was practised as an art the thief proceeding to his job after invoking blessings of the patron deities with all his paraphernalia of house breaking outfit consisting of measuring thread bee etc ⁶⁶ Kharapata one of the ancient masters of the science of thieving whom Sajjalaka the burglar pays his homage is alluded to by Kautilya The study of the *Arthashastra* provided thieves with instructions in the matter of causing drowsiness to the inmates of any particular household or of opening doors or becoming invisible etc Thieves appear to have received regular instruction in the science in the period of our plays and they began their work with their instruments after bowing to their deities The thief in the *Carudatta* however was conscious of the lowness and shame of his business and though he tries to justify it on the precedent of Asvatthaman he admits that he is driven to the despicable work owing to the influence of cupid Even thieves had their code of honour and they desired to come across greedy rich and ruthless merchants but were careful to avoid doing any harm to a woman or to an honourable virtuous and pious person A thief was conscious of the heinousness of his crime and tried his utmost not to kill or even wound anybody He was steady in his love and risked even his life and honour for the sake of securing freedom to his beloved

SLAVERY There was a class of persons in ancient India known as Dasas who were not completely free but who were not slaves as such Dasas were regarded as

members of the family, received kind treatment, and had the protection of law courts against ill treatment. No barriers were placed against the manumission of Dāsas or their regaining freedom. From our plays, we find that there were male as well as female slaves.⁶⁷ They could be purchased from their masters on payment of money, or the masters could set them free on receiving the ransom. Once free from slavery, they were included in the Aryan fold. Those, however, that deceived their master were again condemned to servitude. Female slaves after securing freedom and after getting themselves transferred to Āryahood, could use covered carriages like Aryan ladies, and Brāhmana youths could marry them.

COURT LIFE ♀

The *Arthasastra* seems to have wielded a considerable influence on the political life of the period. As Bhāsa and Kautilya were contemporaries, it is possible that Bhāsa's source may be the *Arthasāstra* of Brhaspati to which he refers in the *Pratimā*, and which has been laid under contribution by Kautilya.

We get descriptions of the palaces of kings in the *Aṭmāraka*, *Bālacarita*, *Pratijñā*, *Śvapna*, etc.⁶⁸ The palace was fortified on all sides by strong and high walls, which had roads on them from inside, and *Kapīśirsakas* were placed on them at different points. There were many hidden staircases and mechanical devices calculated to pull down the structure in no time. Within the fortified walls, were the elephant stables, horse stables, guesthouses, artificial mountains, music halls, cool summer houses, etc. There was a consultation chamber (*mantrasālā*) where the

king met his ministers and advisers to discuss important affairs of state. The court room (*upasthanagrha*) where the queen also sat with king was near the harem (*antahpura*) and was taken as always easy of approach by the ministers. There was also an armoury (*ayudhagara*) where in addition to various defensive and offensive weapons armours and other material arrangements were made for keeping royal prisoners. Then there was *santigrha* attached to the palace for the performance of propitiatory rites. The theatre was housed in a separate room in the palace where suitable dramatic pieces were staged on special occasions by actors in the service of the king.

The princess royal queen and their retinue resided in a specially guarded part of the palace known as *kanyapura* *prisada*. Persons of proved ability and tested character were appointed to posts in the harem to supervise the inmates and guard the harem against the entry of unauthorized persons. In dramatic literature we find that the officer of the harem is a male known as *Kancuki* or *Kancukiya* whereas *Kautilya* and *Vatsyayana* speak of female *Kancukiyas*.⁶⁹ Princesses had their own establishment of servants. They kept many tame and caged birds went to their exclusive pleasure gardens and artificial lakes and passed their time occasionally on the terrace. There was much of woodwork in the construction of the harem which had doors with mechanical devices for opening them.

KINGSHIP Kingship in those days was not conferred by election as was sometimes the case in Vedic times but was hereditary. Views of the people as also of the

ministers were taken into account regarding the selection of the successor to the king⁷⁰

DUTIES OF THE KING The king had a daily round of heavy duties. The hour of the day was periodically announced to the king at ten *nadikās* from sunrise and sunset the king had baths. The king was generally conscious of his heavy responsibilities. The duties of a king as well as the secrets of successful kingship are beautifully summed up by Bhāsa⁷¹. All the actions of the king were to be based on Dharma: he was defender of the faith, he was himself to weigh the ability of his ministers. He was to conceal his favour and frown was to act softly or harshly as dictated by circumstances. He was to learn from his spies about the doings of his subjects and foreigners as also of the circle of kings. He was to protect himself by efforts yet again he was not to spare himself in war.

Protection of their subjects was the chief duty of the kings. Preservation of peace and security in the realm were their prime concerns. State affairs therefore were not to be neglected even for a moment. The kingdom was held by the king in trust as it were for his people. He was merely the bearer of the burden of the doings of his subjects. The king had to give preference to state matters and the ministers felt no hesitation in seeing the king even when he was in company with the queen. A king beloved of his subjects was confident of being trusted by his neighbours⁷².

Performance of sacrifices and the goodwill of the Brāhmanas were things to rejoice in⁷³. Sacrifice was

considered the *magnum opus*, as it were, of the king. Renown based on sacrifices never perished and kings were remembered through the sacrifices they performed. Kings were to amass big fortunes, but they were enjoined to spend all their belongings in good works and leave only the bow as patrimony to their sons Yajña, satya, dāna and parākrama seem to be the virtues a king was enjoined to possess. Sovereignty was held to be won by sheer valour and strength of arms, not by begging. Heroism, however, required to be tempered by time and space. The king's portion was usually a sixth of the produce.

CONSULTATION CHAMBER *Mantraśālā* was the consultation chamber in a palace and on extraordinary occasions, special chambers were erected for the purpose.⁷⁴ Different persons occupied various seats according to their ranks. Whenever occasion arose, the opinion of the whole assembly was taken but at times, kings like Duryodhana overrode the decision of the assembly and had their own way. The very fact that despots like Duryodhana had to call such assemblies to confer on important matters of state amply signifies the high regard for the *Arthaśāstra*. Duryodhana concurred with the verdict of the assembly in the choice of the Commander-in-Chief, but in his treatment of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa who came as the messenger of the Pāṇavas, he followed his personal whim.

KING ON BATTLEFIELD Kings as already stated, were advised not to spare themselves on the war front. War was as a pleasure to them. Enemy was taken to be a guest who wanted war, and in the true Indian fashion, the guest was royally treated. Wounds received in war

were looked on as ornaments. War was not to be avoided through fear, as in any event heroes were to gain. If they succeeded, they enjoyed the earth and the spoils of war, if dead they enjoyed heaven. Flight from the battlefield was always condemned.⁷²

DRESS AND RETINUE About the dress of kings, there is not much to rely on. Like the commoners the king also wore two garments, but they were coloured and made of silk. He was armoured and had chowries and the royal umbrella over his head. Probably he wore a crown on his head. He put on ornaments in his hands. There does not seem to be a large retinue with the kings of Bhāsa. The usual female doorkeeper, the chamberlain, an attendant and the jester companion formed the entire retinue of the king. Twice we come across female torch-bearers.⁷³ There is absolutely no mention of the female bodyguards or Greek women that characterized the retinue of a king in the *Arthaśāstra* as well as in Kālidāsa.

POLITICAL MARRIAGES Influence of the *Arthaśāstra* even on the personal lives of kings would be evident from the number of political marriages contracted during the period. The marriage of Padmāvatī with Vatsarāja forms part of the *Swapna*. All the principal ruling families of the period were related to each other by matrimonial alliances.⁷⁴

MISCELLANEOUS Respectable citizens generally went to sympathize with the king, condole with him or to congratulate him on the happening of important and momentous events.⁷⁵ Palaces were always hotbeds of plots and counterplots, and anything was thought possible to

happen within their four walls. Instances were not rare of kings disappearing from their palaces due to voluntary exile or forcible ejection, and no one gained admission to the palace. King Kuntibhoja when told of the closing of the palace gates against entrants in the Sauvira country states that the possible causes for such a state of affairs were that either the king was lustful, diseased, imprisoned by his ministers, testing in disguise the fidelity of those near him or was making propitiatory rites on being cursed. These correspond more or less, with those given in Kautilya.

CORONATION CEREMONY The coronation ceremony originally demanded the co operation of all classes in the state by their representatives, and did not confer kingship in perpetuity. Elaborate were the preparations that were made at the coronation of a new king in which citizens also took part.⁷⁹ The state umbrella, the emblem of sovereignty, and the chowry were kept ready as also the military drum and the throne. Golden jars filled with consecrated waters, flowers and *darbhas* were also placed there to be poured on the head of the crown prince. All ministers, spiritual and temporal, graced the occasion by their presence, and a throng of citizens assembled to witness the ceremony. The ceremony was performed by the spiritual head of the royal family who occupied the altar. The state chariot was used for the triumphant procession and state entry. The king placed the crown prince on his lap and in the presence of all the subjects, ministers and the family priest, offered him the kingdom. Younger brothers of the crown prince held the golden jar

full of consecrated waters and the king himself took the royal umbrella. After the pompous religious functions a dramatic entertainment in the palace theatre marked the close of the coronation ceremony. The crown prince was dressed differently for the coronation. Almost the same preparations are made for the coronations of princes in India even today. The advent of a new king was always looked upon with great anxiety and suspicion by the subjects.

ADVISERS OF THE KING The Jyais do not enlighten us as to the duties and number of ministers or their assembly. Only the prime minister Commander in Chief Purohita and royal astrologer are mentioned. Kings have been advised to seek the counsel of their ministers.

(a) **Ministers** Ministers occupied a high position in those days.⁸⁰ Their lot however was neither happy nor enviable for if their policy succeeded popular opinion credited the king with success while in times of distress the king was exonerated and the ministers were held responsible for having misguided him. In the absence of the Sauvira king his ministers efficiently carried on the administration refusing admission in the palace to the public. Ministers were always businesslike looked at matters from the utilitarian point and were not swayed by private considerations.

Ministers were selected from persons well read in political science and devoted to the king. They took part in war also and did not care for their lives while serving their master's cause. Yaugandharayan observes that his

imprisonment while working for the release of his master may well serve as an eye opener to many a prospective aspirant for ministership. While the less capable would leave off their ambition the brave and those preferring to live in public memory would not be deterred from striving for the fulfilment of their aspiration by Yaugandharayana's plight. Foreign policy also fell under the control of ministers. They wielded considerable influence even in the private life of the king and were consulted in such personal matters as the selection of suitable bridegrooms for the princesses.⁸¹

Practical foresight and the observance of Kautilya's dictum prompted the ministers of Udayana Vatsaraja to enter into friendly relationship with the Magadha king to ensure his help against the rebel Aruni who had invaded the Vatsa kingdom. With that end in view Yaugandharayana brought about the marriage of Vatsaraja with the Magadha princess after spreading the false report of the burning of himself and Vasavadatta in a fire at Lāṇanaka. He gave out the true story only after the planned marriage was effected and with the help of the Magadha forces his master had utterly routed and killed Aruni. The influence of the *Arthashastra* is also in evidence in the preliminaries gone into before attacking Aruni such as causing division in the enemy camp, gaining confidence of one's own subjects, protecting the rear when making the advance etc.⁸²

(b) *Purohita* The Purohita was adviser to the king in matters religious and secular and he even went to war, encouraging soldiers.

(c) *Ambassadors* Foreign relations necessitated the

despatch of ambassadors or messengers to different courts on various missions. It was a universally accepted and strictly followed rule that ambassadors or envoys were never to be killed⁸³. Even tyrants and despots held the person of the ambassador as sacrosanct. An envoy was not to be executed even if he manifestly exceeded his instructions. He could be punished in other ways short of killing. Thus e.g. Kesava in the *Dutakīya* is ordered to be tied down and Hanuman's tail in the *Abhiseka* is ordered to be set fire to. Envoys are said to be the mouthpieces of kings and they are to express verbatim the message of their master even at the cost of their own lives.

ESPIONAGE The secret service department was efficiently managed. Spies were employed to get secret information about the king's own subjects as well as from foreign countries. If envoys were the mouthpieces of kings, spies were called 'eyes' of kings as it was through spies that kings obtained reports on inland and foreign affairs⁸⁴. A king is said to be thousand eyed on account of the large number of his secret agents. Spies went under different guises to foreign countries and tried to achieve their objects by bribing and winning over the servants of the enemy and keeping their own persons in his employ. They held their conferences in lonely places. It was through espionage that Pradyota Mahasena of Avanti was able to capture Vatsaraja by hiding a number of armed soldiers inside a mechanical elephant. Minister Vraugandharayan had come to know of the plot and was preparing to send a warning to his master but was too late as before

he could send message to Vatsarāja the latter fell into the trap and was carried a prisoner. Undaunted, Yaugandharavana made for the capital of Pradyota in disguise, and with the help of his associates paid Pradyota in the same coin and proved more than a match for his rival minister by succeeding not only in the release of his master, but also in his master's escape with his sweetheart, the daughter of king Pradyota. In the *Atimāraka*, king Durvadhana comes to know of the state of affairs in the Sauvira kingdom through his spies. His attempts to find out Amāraka, however, proved futile as the prince had become invisible through magic.

MILITARY ORGANIZATION

Elephants, chariots, cavalry and infantry were the four divisions (*caturanga*) of the army.

ELEPHANTS Elephants constituted the principal factor of army in ancient India. The elephant is called the armoury, as it were, of kings⁸⁵. A deep blue elephant with certain characteristics was reputed to bring sovereignty to its owner king. There were spacious stables and a number of attendants for elephants. Waving of lights (*nirajanavīdhī*) was done before elephants during specified periods. Various methods of charming and capturing elephants were given in the *Hastisūksa*. King Udayana was an adept in the art of winning over elephants by the melody of his celebrated lute, Ghosavati. The elephant, especially a rogue one, was to be tamed by soft and winning treatment. The elephant for war wore an armour, presumably over its trunk.

CHARIOTS Each charioteer had his own driver expert in driving and turning the chariot in various ways Both charioteer and driver were armoured the former wearing leather gloves for protecting his fingers Each chariot had a distinct banner bearing some special mark to proclaim the identity of its master from afar Garlands of flowers hung from the flag posts of the chariots ⁸⁶

HORSES Horses were known as the means of securing a kingdom ⁸ Horses from Kambhoja were regarded as the best breed Horses were also armoured Lights were waved (*nirajanauddhi*) invoking blessings on the horses on the ninth day of Āśvina and at the commencement and close of a journey

WAR Army Register and Inspection of Troops There was an army register specially prepared for each war containing the name of every soldier and some descriptive particulars about the identity of each individual constituting the army After encampment there was a daily inspection of the troops which was conducted by scrutinizing each member of the army carefully from the army register in order to find out new comers and ascertain deserters The inspection was carried out by each head of the sub division enquiring about the persons under his command Spies from the enemy using disguises were detected in such examination of the army ⁸⁸

Before the actual fight the king's minister and priest encouraged the army by saying that soldiers went beyond the goal attained by performers of sacrifices or penances and no vessel filled with consecrated water and covered with *darbhās* would ever come to him who does not fight

in return for the subsistence received from his master and he was destined to fall into hell⁸⁹

During the course of war spies used to bring occasional reports from the actual battlefield to the king⁹⁰ Thus we are told about the course of events leading to the victory of Uttara through the agents of the secret service. Ravana also gets news about war immediately his servant goes out to bring it

After war the principal duty of the commander was to reward the brave according to their merits. The names of the warriors and their deeds of valour were recorded in the annals of the state⁹¹ The head of the defeated army however took it as his main concern to enquire as to the safety and whereabouts of the officers under him

WEAPONS Practically all of the weapons mentioned by Bhasa are found enumerated in the *Arthashastra* which classifies weapons under the offensive and defensive and the former are again sub divided into movable and immovable. Bhasa refers to armour and shield among the defensive weapons⁹² Out of the movable machines mentioned by Kautilya we find in Bhasa references to *musala mudgara gadā trisula* and *cakra*. None of the immovable machines enumerated by Kautilya is mentioned by Bhasa. All the weapons described by Kautilya however are referred to in Bhasa viz. *sakti pīṣa trāṣṭi kunṭi bhindirīla hīṣaka sula tomara varīṣhakarna kanava* and *karṣana* these were metallic or wooden and their descriptions will be found in the *Arthashastra*. *Sara* and *naraca* mentioned by Bhasa were different kinds of arrows to be discharged from the bow. *Rstī astī khadga* and *kara vā*

were different kinds of swords, and *śanku* was perhaps a conelike lance for piercing the body

ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE AND ARTS

ARCHITECTURE Different aspects of architecture presented by our plays, which we have so far dealt with, show that there were parks, both inside and outside the cities. A courtyard, a tank, a garden and a well were the invariable concomitants of a private dwelling house. Cool summer-houses, luxuriously decorated rooms, well guarded harem, pleasure garden and artificial mountains, lakes, etc. were associated with palaces. In the business quarters of the city there were rows of palatial buildings on both sides of the road. It appears that residential quarters were housed according to castes of the inhabitants. No particulars are supplied regarding the aspect and orientation of public and private buildings and no reference is made to any article of furniture.

A Śiva temple with a fire shrine and a temple dedicated to Yaksini at Ujjayini have been mentioned⁹³. We get an important reference to a building of a semi religious character, viz. the statue house (*pratimāgrha*) in the *Pratimā*⁹⁴. The statue house was a magnificent structure, taller than even palaces, and was a monument of architectural skill. It was situated not in the heart of the city, but outside in the suburban area amidst the trees. To all outward appearances it resembled a temple, the only point of difference being that the statue house exhibited no external symbols of weapons or flags of the deities. It was looked on as a shrine. The statue-house was under the control of a care taker and was open to the public.

There was no restriction on entrants nor was there any door keeper to guard the gates

Special preparations were made in the statue house on important occasions such as the visit of the queen mother.⁸⁵ Not only was the inner dome of the statue house cleared of its *dovecotes* but the outer walls were marked with *paricungulas* of whitewash mixed with sandal the doors were decorated with wreaths and garlands the paths were strewn with white sand flowers were scattered everywhere and flowers and fried grains were spread at the entrance. These preparations have much in common with what we see in temples on festive occasions at the present day.

SCULPTURE Sculpture seems to have attained a very high degree of perfection. Statues of dead kings were carved of stone or granite. They were pieces of exquisite workmanship being quite life-like and each statue brought out through some symbol the particular characteristic of the individual king. Thus in the statue of Dilpa there was something to suggest that he was the embodiment of Dharma the statue of Raghu suggested embodiment of charity and that of Aja suggested embodiment of love. Similar statues of dead kings are found in old capitals in Rajputana and they were represented on horseback if the kings died on battlefield and in other positions if they died natural deaths.⁸⁶

These statues were kept in the statue houses which contained more images than one. They were worshipped with fried rice and flowers. As the statues were of the Kṣatriyas no Brahmana was to make an obeisance to them others however paid their homage to the dead

without prostrating and without chanting any *mantras*. The statues and statue houses well known in Ayodhya appear to be unknown in Kākaya.⁹⁷

Another specimen of fine workmanship is supplied by the artificial elephant manufactured by king Pradyota Mahasena of Avanti to capture Udayana Vatsaraja. The representation was realistic.

PAINTING There are many references to painting in our plays and there are significant similes describing pictures on a canvass. Pictures were drawn on walls as well as on panels or boards. The walls of the fire shrine are stated to have got fast coloured paintings on them. A painter surrounded by many cups is referred to in the *Carudatta*.⁹⁸

The description of the picture depicting the denuding of Draupadī in the *Dūtavākya* shows that the painter looked to many particulars and minor details.⁹⁹ Not only was close attention paid to the dress of all the persons portrayed but their expression was carefully worked out on the canvas. The portraits of Udayana and Vasavadatta are said to be quite life like showing a remarkable resemblance to the original. Courtesans had a special room in their mansions with all the paraphernalia required for painting. Cultured courtesans like Vasantasena were well versed in portraiture also and Vasantasena's representation of Carudatta as he was passing by the road below her balcony is said to have been faithfully carried out.

MUSIC Singing music and dance were looked with approval. Many ladies of respectable families were experts in singing and in playing on lute and their consorts enjoyed

nights in listening to the enchanting tunes. Music teachers were employed in royal palaces to give instruction to princesses in song and dance. Lute (*vinā*) was the most popular musical instrument and it was regarded as a jewel obtained without churning the ocean. The lutes of rich persons were strung with wires of gold.¹⁰⁰

ARTS The art of weaving seems to have reached a developed phase in the period in that garments made from barks of trees were so finely produced as not to be easily distinguishable from the ordinary cotton fabrics.¹⁰¹ Florists, perfumers, garland makers, jewellers and goldsmiths figure among the other artisans and craftsmen mentioned by Bhasa.

RELIGION PHILOSOPHY LITERATURE AND SCIENCES

RELIGION In considering the religious systems prevalent at the period we find that as the poet was a follower of orthodox Hinduism all principal characters owe allegiance to that faith hence we deal with Hinduism first.

Hinduism God Viṇu was worshipped and the following of his incarnations (*avatāras*) are mentioned. Varaha, Vamana, Nṛsiṃha, Rama and Kṛṣṇa. It may be stated that though the conception of ten incarnations of Viṇu is rather late that of the incarnations itself is pretty old in Hindu mythology. The fact of the ascription of divinities to Rama and Kṛṣṇa need not be taken as evidencing a late date for our poet for Vasudeva Kṛṣṇa appears to have been worshipped at least since the days of Panini and Megasthenes also refers to the worship of

Kṛṣṇa there is also inscriptional evidence showing temples of Kṛṣṇa in the early centuries before Christ. It appears that there were some people at the time of the poet who denied divinity to Kṛṣṇa and regarded him lightly as a mere cowherd¹⁰². In the opinion and belief of the poet, however, Kṛṣṇa was the highest god and, in the period under review, was definitely regarded as such. Weapons of Kṛṣṇa were regarded as divinities and were taken to be capable of achieving any object. Though evidently a Vaiṣṇava, the poet is no sectarian. He shows no disrespect to Śaivism which indicates that there was no rivalry between the two sects at the period. Śiva also was worshipped and so was his divine consort, Kārtīyāyanī¹⁰³. Kārtīyāyanī is said to be the divine child of Yaśoda which was dashed against a stone by Kamsa, but instead of being dead the child burst into two. Kundodara, Śankukarna Nīla Manojava, etc. are the weapons of Kārtīyāyanī, who appear in human form, and they are advised to go to Gokula disguised as herdsmen.

Besides Viṣṇu and Śiva, Skanda is mentioned. We find references to his birth from the reeds, and his feats of killing Krauñca and Mandara are mentioned a number of times. There occurs praise of Balarāma also, who plays an important part in the Pāñcarātra system. There were temples of Yakṣiṇis, who were evidently benign spirits at the period, and maidens used to worship them, especially on the Kālāṣṭamī. We also find belief in the Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva, whose existence in proto historic times is established by the Indus Valley finds¹⁰⁴.

From the reference to the statue houses and their

distinction from temples we find that idol worship in those days was in a developed stage. There were temples dedicated to various deities in the heart of the cities. Some temples contained more images than one that in Ujjayini had besides Śiva the images of Skanda and Karttāyāni¹⁰⁴. These temples contained large enclosure and tanks as also smaller buildings such as fire shrine etc. The temple walls were painted with different scenes. On the flag post in a prominent place were placed symbol or weapons of the deity enshrined. Some temples had daily festivities while in others full moon days were observed as festive occasions. Preparations on special occasions were similar to those made for statue houses to which we have referred in an earlier section.

The institution of sacrifices was most prevalent. There was belief in the power of sacrificial oblations and the merit one got by performing sacrifices was thought to be everlasting. Śraddha was regarded then as even now an important duty of a Hindu. Offerings were to be made to Matrkas etc.¹⁰⁵ There was also belief in *mantra* and *tantra*.

Buddhism The flourishing condition of sacrifices and the honour and veneration for the *Brahmanas* indicate that Buddhism had not yet gained strong foothold. The Buddhist mendicants were lightly spoken of as mere conjurers and it was taken as a disgrace to receive peace offerings from them. They were regarded as of easy morals. The Buddhist laymen also were ridiculed as mad worshippers¹⁰.

Jainism The Jainas were taken as non Vaidikas, non-believers in the Vedas ¹⁰⁸ It appears that only the Digambara sect was known in the period

PHILOSOPHY The poet seems to be a special follower of the Pañcaratra system of philosophy Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa is taken as an incarnation of Viṣṇu and devotion to him is the basic principle Kṛṣṇa as Upendra or Nārāyaṇa is regarded as the highest god The authority of the Vedas is supreme The poet not only names one of his plays as *Pañcaratra* but glorification of Balarāma is also found Balarama is named as Sankarsana We find complete belief in the Brahmanical system of sacrifices and in the power and efficacy of sacrificial oblations The philosophical creed seems to be the blending of the philosophy of the Sūtras with the Bhakti cult of the Vaiṣṇavas People seem to have been quite familiar with the Upanisadic ideas ¹⁰⁹ There was belief in the force of Karma (or effort of this life) over Daiva, along with which is also found great resignation to fate ¹¹⁰ The theory of rebirth was also well known and acceptable ¹¹¹

LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE Sanskrit appears to have been a living language in the period and it was used and understood by all Women and inferior characters, however, employed Prakrit The epics were well known and studied in the period and so was probably the *Bhagavadgītā* Reference is made to various treatises on different Śāstras such as the *Yogaśāstra*, *Dharmasāstra*, etc., in the *Pratimā*, and all these are works of antiquity There was also a work on *Hastīśikṣā*, and one on *Nāṭyasāstra* distinct from that of Bharata ¹¹²

ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY The poet mentions some *tithis* and *nakṣatras* but not *rasas*. The moon was known as the cause of tides ¹¹² The time of sunrise was known from the observatory at Ujjayini by observations and calculations.

It appears that there was some belief in astrology. The astrologers of those days based their forecasts on the position of *nakṣatras*. Marriages were fixed for on auspicious *nakṣatras*. *Rohini* was taken as auspicious for the entry of a prince into his capital while *kṛttika* was inauspicious for the purpose ¹¹³

MEDICINE The psychological aspect of diseases that diversion works as a curative appears to be known as would appear from the description of the sickroom which was well decorated to divert the attention of the patient ¹¹⁴ Cangerika was reputed to bring coolness to the head. Other cooling herbs were Bakula Sarja Sarala Nipa Kadamba etc. and their local application was supposed to give instantaneous relief.

CHAPTER VI

THE BHĀSA PROBLEM

The discovery and publication of the thirteen plays ascribed to Bhāsa in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series will go down to posterity as the most epoch making landmark in the history of Sanskrit drama. Much has been written in support as well as against the Bhāsa theory. Opinion is yet sharply divided, and nothing like a definite solution of the problem seems to have been reached even after many years of heated controversy, but the problem has on the contrary become more complex.

The views hitherto expressed on the problem fall into three main schools, viz (a) the supporters of the Bhāsa theory, (b) the antagonists and (c) those that have found a *via media* and hold only two plays to be by Bhāsa and are doubtful about the other plays¹. MM Dr T Ganapati SASTRI, the discoverer of the plays, first ascribed them to Bhāsa and many orientalists including Drs BANERJI SASTRI, BELVALKAR, JACOBI, JAYASWAL, JOLLY, KEITH, KONOW, INDENAU, SARUP, Haraprasad SASTRI, THOMAS and WELLER lent their whole-hearted support to the Bhāsa theory. The first dissentient note of non-belief was sounded by Pandit Rāmanātara SARMA and Bhattanāth SWAMI, and among the anti Bhāsutes figure scholars like Drs BARNETT, CHARPENTIER, KANE, Kunhan RAJA,

Sylvain LEVI PISHAROTI Hirananda SASTRI Kuppaswami SASTRI and WOOLNER who pronounce the plays to be spurious. Drs. SUKTHANKAR WINTERVITZ and DE are the champions of the *via media* school. It does not matter much which of these parties commands majority for as has been aptly observed by Dr. WINTERVITZ in science truth is not found out by the majority of votes but by the majority of arguments.

Nearly all the supporters of the Bhasa theory and some of the antagonists believe in the common authorship of these plays. I have dealt with the topic earlier proving that the plays are the work of one author. Now I give below the main arguments of each school followed by refutation of contrary views.

(A) As already stated the plays nowhere mention the name of Bhasa neither in the prologue nor in the colophon. MM. Dr. Ganapati SASTRI ascribed the dramas to Bhasa on the following grounds³. The dramas are found to answer the characteristics of Bhasa mentioned by Bana in that they are begun by the Sutradhara and are rich in characters and episodes. The prologue in these dramas is styled *Sthapana* instead of *Prasthana* and the non mention of the poet's name or the title of the work therein suggests pre classical period for these drama. One of the plays of the group viz. the *Stapna* is ascribed to Bhasa and hence the rest of the group which also comes from the same author also is *Bhasanatakakari*. Many citations from these plays are found in the works of rhetoricians indicating these to be well known works of antiquity. This is on the testimony of Bana who mentions

the characteristics of Bhasa's works and of Rāja ekkhara who associates the *Scapra* which forms one of the group, with the authorship of Bhāsa the whole cycle of plays has been ascribed to Bhasa.

Besides the above, the preponderance of the epic metre, deviations from the rules of Pāṇini peculiarities of Prakrit and the non-observance and contravention of the rules of Bharata's *Natyasastra* also indicate the antiquity of these plays.

Now the first problem regarding authorship is to prove the identity of the *Scaprasavadatta* as published in the Trivandrun Sanskrit Series with the *Scaprasavadatta* as known to ancient writers and rhetoricians, before we link it with Bhāsa. The following are the direct references to the *Scaprasavadatta* arranged chronologically.⁴

1. Acārya Abhinavagupta (11th century) (a) in his commentary on Bharata's *Natyasāstra* (I 74) states कान्तकटा । यथा मन्त्रवसवदत्तायम् । which evidently refers to the *krīda* mentioned in the stage direction to the second act of the printed text (page 40) (b) In his commentary on *Dharmyaloka*, Abhinavagupta cites the following stanza as from a *Scapra*

मन्त्रिपद्मकटाट नयनद्वारं स्वप्नपटनेन ।

उद्गात्र्य ना प्रविष्टा हृदयगृहं मे नृपतनूता ॥

This verse is not found in the printed *Scapra*, but it finds a suitable context in the dream scene of the play after Vasavadattā makes her hasty exit (p 112). The stanza may therefore have occurred in the *Scapra* at the time of Abhinavagupta. Its omission from the printed text may

पयाभामहनेम्यमनामदत्ते श्रेफालिकाशिलानलमयलोक्य यमगज -
पादान्नान्तानि पुष्पाणि मोक्ष चेद शिगतल्म् ।
नून काचिदिहामाना मा दृष्ट्वा महसा नता ॥

Unfortunately the stanza does not occur in the printed text and hence it has been dismissed as unauthentic and as not coming from Bhasa. But we need not go to such an extreme conclusion as we find the elements of the scene in the fourth act of the printed text. Dr. SUKTHANĀTH⁸ has explained the situation in detail and has rightly concluded that the missing stanza may occur after तममोदी पटुमायदी उह आभ-उभ निगगन भव (p. 72) as गता (श्रेफालिकाशिलानलमयलोक्य)-पादान्नान्तानि etc. There is no dislocation no lacuna what is required is the replacement of the verse at a point where there is a hiatus in our version. The probable reason of omission appears to be the mistake of the scribe or difference in the recensions of the play.

6. Śaṅkaranandin (XIIIth century) in the *Āṭakalīkṣa naraṇakośa* (p. 51) apparently cites from the prologue of a *Śaṭpā* which does not tally with the printed text. It appears that the author was giving the contents of the Prologue in his own words otherwise we shall have to presume that he was quoting from a variant text.

7. Śakuntalavyākhyā (XIVth century)⁹ refers to the *prastāvanī* of a *Śaṭpā* in identical words as found in the printed text.

Thus all the above authors refer to one and the same *Śaṭpā* and the printed text in some cases represents a variant text. Abhinavagupta refers to the second and

fifth acts of our play, Bhojadeva to the fifth, Śaradātanaṣa to the first, fourth fifth and sixth, Sarvaṇanda to the first, fourth and fifth, Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra to the fourth, and Sāgaranandin and Śakuntalāvyākhyā to the prologue of our play. The *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* mentions Bhāsa as the author of the *Śaṭpāṇa*, which, as we have shown, is identical with the printed text, and as all the plays come from one author the whole cycle is from Bhāsa.

Besides the above, there are other references mentioning some characteristics of Bhāsa, which also can be shown to apply to our plays.

Bāṇa, as already stated¹⁰ refers to Bhāsa's dramas as begun by the Sūtradhāra, having many characters and episodes, and being holy and pure like temples. Reference has already been made to the first characteristic. The plays have a large number of characters of various types justifying the remark *Bakubhāmika*. Nearly all the plays contain episodes answering *Śaṭpāṇa*. Holiness and sublimity pervading the plays wholly accounts for their comparison with temples. Bāṇa's description thus is applicable to our plays.

Rijakṣhara refers to the fire ordeal to which Bhāsa's works are believed to have been subjected and to the *Śaṭpāṇa* as coming unscathed out of the ordeal.¹¹

Ākpatirāja refers to Bhāsa as 'a friend of fire' in his *Gaulāḥa* (Stanza 800) and our plays more than deserve the epithet, as in them there are descriptions of conflagrations and sacrificial fires as also the appearance of Agni in human form, besides the occurrence of the term 'Agni' at numerous places.

Jayadeva, as already stated calls Bhāsa 'the laughter of poetry' ¹² There are various instances of quiet and boisterous humour in these plays, and the scenes in which Santuṣṭa, Maitreya, Vasantaka, Śakara, Sudhākāra, etc figure also supply humour

Dandin mentions Bhāsa's dramas as possessing the *Sandhis* such as Mukha etc, and also distinct and different *Vṛttis* These characteristics are found applicable to the printed text ¹³

Thus the features of Bhāsa mentioned by Bana, Vākpatirāja, Jayadeva and Dandin are found in the printed text, and this strengthens our conclusion of Bhāsa's authorship of these plays]

(B) The antagonists of the Bhāsa theory, however, try to meet the above arguments by stating that the omission of the name of the author is due to the fact that the author or authors were mere plagiarists or adapters With regard to the peculiarities of technique and disregard of the rules of the *Nāṭyasāstra* displayed by these plays it has been contended that these features are shared by many South Indian plays and are due to Kerala influence It is also urged that the absence of Bhāsa's name in the rhetorical works with regard to citations from these plays shows that these plays are the works of compilers As a last resort it is argued that though the works may have originally belonged to Bhāsa, they are, in their present form, merely adaptations or stage editions prepared by the Cākyārs from the original works of Bhāsa ¹⁴

We have already dealt with all these points earlier ¹⁵ where it has been shown that these plays cannot be called

adaptations or compilations and that the Cakṛas are to be credited only with the preservation of these plays. Absence of ascription of any stanza from these works to any South Indian dramatist in the works of rhetoricians or anthologists also speaks against their South Indian origin.

The antagonists state that Bana's description of Bhaṣa's dramas as *Sutrādhara-kṛtīrambhā* is vitiated by *Atyupā* as it is found to apply to many South Indian dramas besides the Bhaṣa plays as they also begin with *Nandyaṇṭe* etc. Now most of these South Indian dramas mention the name of the dramatist for whose identification we have not to depend upon inference and hence Bana's statement clearly does not cover them. So the *Atyupā* covers but a few practically all of which come after the period of Bana so that his statement does not apply to them.

The occurrence of the same antique forms in Prākṛit in the South Indian plays has been taken to convey that these plays also come from the South. But the *Śāpna* (and hence the other plays of the group) has been attested long before the appearance of the first dramatist in Sanskrit in the South¹⁸. Hence the occurrence of the peculiarities of Bhaṣa in the South Indian plays is due to the imitation of Bhaṣa. It may be stated in conclusion that the arguments of the opposition are neither conclusive nor fatal to the Bhaṣa theory and they have been satisfactorily met with. Most of the antagonists have approached the problem with preconceived notions.

(C) The theory of the third school which stands for the *via media* is most guarded, cautious and sane and will

commend itself to all. Our only complaint is that they do not go sufficiently as far as the evidence warrants and do not draw the naturally justifiable inferences. We do feel the common authorship of the group, and if the *Śaṅkha* and the *Pratijñā* are to be associated with Bhāsa the whole group deserves to be ascribed to him. It is already shown that these works cannot be adaptations or stage editions.

The upshot of the above discussion is that the thirteen plays are the genuine works of Bhāsa.

CHAPTER VII

DATE OF BHĀSA

The date of Bhāsa is one of the most vexed questions in Indian chronology and one is surprised to find a difference of over fourteen hundred years in the earliest and latest dates ascribed to him by different scholars¹. We have already seen that these dramas are neither compilations or adaptations and also that the earliest reference to him by name comes from Banī (7th cent.). Therefore all dates later than the 7th century assigned to Bhāsa are clearly out of order. In coming to our own conclusions as to the problem internal evidence which fixes the upper limit of the date may be considered first.

INTERNAL EVIDENCE (1) The sources of the plays are the *Rāmāyana*, the *Mahābhārata* and the folklore. The Udayana plays are drawn from historical traditions and Udayana, Pradyota and Darśaka are historical personages belonging to the 6th century B.C.² The epics were known before this period and the popular folklore may well be earlier. The 6th century B.C. is thus the upper limit.

(2) The *Pratijñā*, *Asvamedhika* and *Sūtraka* furnish us with historical data. The enumeration of the royal families of North India in the former two plays whose very memories were lost in the Mauryan period shows the poet

to be proximate in time to the period of the Nandas or Candragupta. Mention of Rajagṛha as the capital and reference to Pataliputra as an ordinary city also show a period not far from the 5th century B C.

(ii) References to Nāgavāna Venuvāna Rajagṛha and Pataliputra which rose into prominence after Buddha and the reference to Śākyasramanaka and rājastamārika place the poet definitely after the period of Buddha i.e. after the 6th century B C.

(iii) The various śāstras mentioned in the *Pratima* are of fairly old antiquity, prior at any rate to the 6th century B C. *Mātaṅga Dharmasūtra* is the original of our present *Manusmṛiti* and as it is referred to by Gautama the oldest Dharmaśūtrakara it may be placed before the 6th cent B C. About *Mahesvara Yogasūtra* we know nothing except that Lalitubha who is sect is known at least since the last 2000 years was the last incarnation of Mahesvara the propounder of Yoga. *Bṛhaspati's Arthaśāstra* has been referred to in the *Mahābhārata* and laid under contribution by Kautilya. *Pratīkṣa Śraddhākalpa* also is not known. We have already referred to Medhatithi's *Vyāsaśāstra* as not being identical with *Manuśāstra* and as being the work of antiquity by Gautama. The treatises mentioned in the *Yajñaphalam* (p. 116) are also fairly old.

(iv) Sociological conditions portrayed in these works show many parallelisms with the *Jātakas* and the *Arthaśāstra*. Here I refer only to few of these. (a) The custom of throwing sand in the enclosures of temples recorded in the *Pratima* (pp. 54-59) is found only in the work of

Apastamba (c 5th cent B C) showing that the poet flourished in a period not far removed from Apastamba⁵

(b) Baudhavana (c 7th cent B C) declares the residents of Avanti Anga Magadha Surashtra Sindhu and Sauvira as of mixed origin and outside Aryavarta. In the period of our plays it seems that these people especially those from Avanti Magadha and Sindhu Sauvira were freed from the taint⁶. For such a change in the outlook we may assign the period of a couple of centuries and so Bhasa may have flourished at about the 5th or 4th century B C.

(c) Marriages between prohibited degrees of consanguinity appear to be recognized which also shows the same period.

(d) The ethos of Brahmanical system glorification of sacrifices alien attitude towards Buddhism and Jainism point to a period not far off from the origin of these religious systems.

(e) There are also numerous parallelisms in significant particulars between the social conditions of the Mauryan age and those depicted in the plays showing the *Arthashastra* and these plays to be the products of the same period⁷.

(vi) The *Bharatavakyas* as already shown⁸ refer to a king ruling over the earth between the Himalayas and Vindhya and the seas and allude to changes in the fortunes of the king. They probably refer to Ugrasena Mahapadma the predecessor of Chandragupta Maurya. Rajasinha is not the proper name of the king. So this also pertains to the same period.

(vii) The evidence of language as also that of metrics and dramatic technique, though not positively pointing to any definite period, do not, at any rate, run counter to the period indicated above

Thus, the cumulative effect of all the factors considered under 'Internal Evidence' places the period of the poet between the 5th and the 4th cent B C

THE EXTERNAL EVIDENCE fixes the lower limit of the plays, but there is a sharp difference of opinion among scholars as to the dates of Kālidāsa Śūdraka and Kautilya who come forward to give testimony in this respect I am inclined to assign Kalidāsa to the 1st cent B C, Śūdraka to the 3rd, and Kautilya to the 4th cent B C

In the last chapter, we have already dealt with the direct evidence about Bhāsa supplied by Bana, Dandin, Abhinavagupta, Rāmacandra and Gunacandra, Śārada-tanaya Bhojadeva, Sāgararandin and Sarvānanda, covering the period from the 7th to the 12th centuries A D Here we shall deal with important references to Bhāsa or his works prior to that period

1 Dinnaga in his *Kundamālā* refers to Daśaratha as *padimāgādo mahārāo* " (Dakṣiṇa Bharatī Series, p 10), and as there is no reference to the statue of Daśaratha either in the *Rāmāyana* or in any other work excepting the *Pratimā*, we take the *Kundamālā* to be referring to the *Pratima*

2 Vāmana in his *Kāvyaśamkarasūtratīkṣṇa* (IV 3 25) quotes a verse

शरच्चन्द्राशुगौरेण वाताविद्धेन भामिनि ।
काशपुण्यलयेनेदं साश्रुपातं मुखं कृतम् ॥

as an instance of Vyājokti. The same verse occurs in the *Svapna*, IV 3, with *śaśāṅka* for *candrāṃsu*, and *mama* for *kṛtam*. The stanza in its context is, no doubt, an apt illustration of Vyājokti.

There are also citations from the *Cārudatta* (I 2), the *Mrcchakatika* (I 9, p 38) and the *Pratijñā* (IV 2) in the same work (IV 1 3, IV 3 23, V 2 13). With regard to the last citation it may be observed that it also occurs in the *Arthaśāstra* (X 3, p 368). But Vamana is more likely to have taken it from the *Pratijñā*.

3 Ilāṅkovāḍigaḷ in the *Cilappadikāram* mentions one *Bālacaritanātaka* which treats of the story of Kṛṣṇa. Our *Bālacarita* is known to be the earliest version of the Kṛṣṇa story on account of the absence of the erotic element, and I am inclined to take *Cilappadikāram* to refer to the *Bālacarita*.*

4 Aśvaghosa in his *Buddhacarita* (XIII 60) has a verse

काष्ठं हि मय्यन् लभते हुताश
भूमिं खनन् विन्दति चापि तोयम् ।
निर्वन्धिनः किञ्चन नास्त्यसाध्य
न्यायेन युक्तं च कृतं च सर्वम् ॥

which is almost identical in expression with Bhāsa's *Pratijñā* (I 18).

5 Kālidāsa in the prologue to his *Mālavikāgnimitra* refers to Bhāsa as an old poet of established renown. We

places the poet before Candragupta's conquest of the South¹¹ (ii) Non-mention of the word *nānaka* coupled with the mention of the generic terms *suarna* and *masa* to denote coins, pronounce the author to be considerably prior to the 2nd cent A D, if we take the word *nānaka* to be derived from the Elamite Goddess Nanaia (iii) The silence¹ of the author as to *rāsīs* at proper occasions when only *naksatras* are mentioned, places the author before the 4th century B C, when through Hellenic influence *rāsīs* were first included in Hindu Astrology (iv) The specification of nakedness as the characteristic of Jain mendicants shows that the author was not aware of the other sect of the Jainas. The schism dividing the community originated at about 300 B C¹², and hence the author flourished before this period.

The arguments *ex silentio*, thus, place our author in the pre Mauryan period, and both the external and internal evidences also point to the same period. These factors coupled with the particulars from the *Bharataṭīkya*s, indicate that Bhāsa was the court poet of Ugrasena Mahāpadma the precursor of Candragupta Maurya, and a senior contemporary of the great Mauryan minister, Kautilya.

NOTES

CHAPTER I

- 1 Contrary to the views of European scholars including Dr WINTERVITZ (*HIL*, I, p 207) who hold that the Hindus had no moral code, my friend Dr KARNIK has proved in his doctorate thesis on the "Morals in the Brahmanas" (which is awaiting publication) that there was a highly developed code of morals in the Vedic times as evidenced by the moral tales occurring in the later Vedic literature Parts of the thesis have appeared in the *JUB*, Sept 1939, and *Proc O C Tirupati*
- 2 Particulars about the Indus Civilization have been given in brief by Rao Bahadur K N DIKSHIT (*Prehistoric Civilization of the Indus Valley* Madras, 1939) and Dr E MACKAY (*Indus Civilization*, London, 1935)
- 3 cf *Mbh* (B) XII 98 45

अशोच्यो हि हत शूरः स्वर्गलोके महीयते ।
न ह्यन्न नोदक तस्य न स्नान नाप्यशीचक्रम् ॥
- 4 cf PUSALKER, "Bhāsa and Kautilya's Arthaśāstra," *Rangaswami Comm Vol*, pp 87 94, DIKSHITAR, 'Bhāsa and Kautilya,' *Festschrift Kane*, pp 165 167
- 5 (The figure has been wrongly put as 6 in the text)
cf BHANDARKAR *Carm Lect*, 1919 p 85, GHOSAL,

MR, Oct 1930, p 438, *Manusmṛti*, II 22, also सागरपर्यन्तां हिमवद्विन्ध्यकुण्डलाम् and परचक्र प्रशाम्यतु in the Bharata-ākhyas of Bhāsa's plays.

CHAPTER II

1 cf *Prthivīrājajaya*, I 3, and the commentary thereon.

2 cf Rājasekhara in *Sūktimuktāvalī*

भासनाटकचक्रेऽपि छेकैः क्षिप्ते परीक्षितुम् ।

स्वप्रयासवदत्तस्य दाहकोऽभून्न यावतः ॥

3 cf the so-called *Kaivimarśa* ascribed to Rājasekhara. The stanzas have been quoted in *IHQ*, I, p 105, also in *Bhāsa—A Study*, p 35 n 1

4 KRISHNAMACHARYA *Priyadarśikā*, Bhūmikā, pp XXII-XXIII

5 cf "Two More Dramas of Bhāsa," *OC*, III, pp 82-85 BHANDARKAR *IA*, 42 p 53 JOLLY, *Festgabe Garbe*, pp 115 121 PISHAROTI, *Shama'a*, 1924, pp 213-222. KEITH, *SD*, p 105

6 GULERI *IA*, 42, pp 52 53, SANKAR, *AMV*, 2, pp 42-43 *Bhāsa—A Study*, pp 107-108

7 *Nāṭyaśāstra*, GOS Vol I, pp 9 47

8 cf *Bhāsa—A Study*, pp 175 ff

9 For definitions of different types, cf *Daśarūpa* III 38 ff also MANHAD, *Types of Sanskrit Drama*, Karachi, 1936

10 See pp 24 25 *infra*

11 cf *Bhāsa—A study*, pp 4 21

12 This topic has been dealt with in detail in a subsequent chapter entitled "The Bhāsa Problem"

13 *Bhāsa—A Study* pp 118-122

CHAPTER III

- 1 The plot of the newly discovered *Yajñaphalam*, dealing with Rāma's early life before marriage has been given in the next chapter, where I have considered whether the *Yajñaphalam* can be ascribed to Bhāsa
- 2 Śvapaka means one who cooks dogs, an outcast, a cāndāla

CHAPTER IV

- 1 WINTERVITZ *BRRI*, V, p 9
- 2 DE *IHQ*, XVII, p 425
- 3 cf DHRUVA *Madhyama* p 5, SARUP, *HR*, 50 p 118, KEITH, *SD*, p 101, WELLER, *Atimāraka*, Intr
- 4 *JAOS*, 43, p 169
- 5 “भासो हास ” जयदेव in his प्रसन्नगयन.
- 6 cf मूत्रधारकृतारम्भैर्नाटैर्बहुभूमिर्नैः ।
सपतनैर्यशो लेभे भामो देवमुल्लैरिव ॥
- 7 *Bhāsa—A Study*, p 15
- 8 In view of the newly discovered *Yajñaphalam* however, the total number of stanzas runs up to 1385, and the *Yajñaphalam* tops the list with 293 stanzas
- 9 cf *Prat*, I 18, III 17, 24, *Pañc*, II 28, *Dgh* 17, *Pry*, I 18 *Ati*, I 5, 12, *Śaṭpna*, IV 9
- 10 cf *Pry*, II 7, *Panc*, I 18
- 11 cf *Śaṭpna* Act III, *Abh*, Acts I V
- 12 cf *Pry*, IV 18, *Ati*, IV 7
- 13 cf *Pañc* I 37, II 16, 47, *Prat*, I 9, 19, IV 5
- 14 *Śaṭpna*, p 128, *Bāl*, p 65

- 15 PISHAROTI, *IHQ*, I, pp 333-340, RAJA, *ZII*, 2, pp 258 259
- 16 *Att*, p 16
- 17 cf KEITH, *SD*, p 105
- 18 *Nāṭyasāstra* II 9 ff
- 19 *Sāhityadarpana*, (Kane's Ed), p 63
- 20 cf *Bhāsa—A Study* pp 98 100
- 21 cf KEITH *SD*, p 354
- 22 *Ūru* pp 98 99
- 23 cf WELLER, *Ūru* Intr
- 24 cf *Bhāsa—A Study*, pp 134 200
- 25 cf *Bhāsa—A Study* p 47 and n 2, STEIN, *IHQ*, 14 pp 445 446
- 26 Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No 55
- 27 Respectively in *Vision of Vāsavadattā*, intr, p 3, *JRAS*, 1928, pp 884 885 *Festgabe Jacobi*, pp 117, 120 122 For detailed references to these and other works in connection with this and the following verses, See *Bhāsa—A Study*, pp 44-45, III-III
- 28 *Two Plays of Bhāsa*, p 9
- 29 GOS No 48, p 84
- 30 *Mālatīkāgnimitra*, Prastāvanā
- 31 For the statements in this paragraph cf *Śākuntala*, I, with *Stapna*, I Śāk VI, with *Prat* VII, Śāk, III, with *Stapna* I Śāk, IV with *Abh*, IV, Śāk, VI with *Stapna*, VI Śāk, I with *Stapna*, II, Śāk, IV with *Att* VI etc
- 32 Bhāsa Kālidāsa
- 1 प्रथमः कल्पः । *Stapna* p प्रथमः कल्पः । Śāk, p 237.
- 9) *Madhyama*, p 42 *Mālatīkā*, Act I

Ūru p 96 Panc p 47

Bal p 55 Abh p 74

Avi p 26 Prat p 110

- ii *पञ्चैर्मुर्मदनो यदा ऋथमय पयिस्वननयुरानिऋथ
पष्ट शर पानिन *Siapna* पञ्चाम्ययिकु अगे भवितुम् ।
IV 1 *Sak VI 3*
- iii चित्रापिताङ्गा इव । चित्रापताग्म्भ इरातन्म्ये ।
Karna 15 Raghu II 31
- iv राण्यस्नग्म्भितरुण्टयात् रुण्टस्नग्म्भितवाण्यवृत्तिक् दुप
Prat II 17 Sak VI 5
- v नैव मोदु न सहर्तुशतोमि न च खटु पग्म्भोक्तु नैव
मुपितेन्द्रिय । *Prat II 9 शतोमि हातु । Sak V 19*
- vi राष्ट्रादग्निर्वायते मथ्यमानात् । अग्नि चलितेन्यनोऽग्नि ।
Prat I 18 Sak V 19
- vii राजेन्द्र मौलिमणिरञ्जित मामन्तर्मौलिमणिर्गञ्जितपाद
पादपाठ । *Karna 16 पाठ । Vikrama III 19*
- viii ज्यायानप्रचितमिणोल्ब्रण मौरीमिणाङ्क । *Sak I 13*
प्रकोष्ठ । *Avi I 8*
- ix मह्वचारिणोऽनर्था । ज्यायताङ्क मुहुर्मणिर्वचनात् ।
Sak III 12
- x दुमा गयन्ताय etc दुम्ब दुम्बानुग्रन्धि ।
Prat III 2 Vikrama p 12
- xi मिश्रय हग्निनाश्चग्न्यवनिता यिश्चामोपगमादभिन्नगनय
Sak I 9

देशागतप्रत्ययाः ।

शब्द सहन्ते मृगाः ।

Svapna I 12*Śāk*, I 13

xii यस्या न प्रियमण्डनापि महिषी पातु न प्रथम व्यस्यति

etc *Abh* III 1etc *Śāk*, IV 8

xiii सर्वशोभन सुरूप नाम । किमिव हि मधुराणा मण्डन

Prat p 11नावृत्तिनाम् । *Śāk*, I 17

xiv श्रुतिसुखनिनदे कथं नुदेव्याः तत्र सुचरितमङ्गुलीय नून

etc *Svapna* VI 1etc *Śāk*, VI 11

33 भासो हासः कनिकुलगुरुः कालिदासो प्रियासः ।

34 For references see Bibliography ' at the end , also,
Bhāsa—A Study, pp 150 ff

35 Edited by M DILLON Oxford University Press, 1937

36 GOS No 48 pp 48, 109 III 119 120, 135 etc

37 Ed Bombay 1925

38 cf RAJA, *JOR* I p 222 THOMAS, *JRAS*, 1928,
p 690 n Harivra SASTRI *JOR* 2 pp 211 213

39 R No 2778 in Govt Or MSS Library Madras

40 SAKTHANAR *JAOS* 42, p 7441 SWAM, *JA*, 1916, p 194 DEVADHAR *Plays Ascribed*
to Bhāsa, pp 32 4042 Hirananda SASTRI *Mem Arch Sur Ind*, No 25
p 2343 Hirananda SASTRI *Op cit*, p 2344 Cf Vāmana's *Kātyālamkārasūtratīti*, IV 1 3, IV
3 23 and IV 3 23 respectively with *Cār* I 2, *Myech*,
p 38 and *Cār* p 1145 SAKTHANAR, *JBBRAS*, 1925 p 27246 See specially *Myech* I 23 II 5 (nānaka), III 5

- (mūrechanā) p 53 (Kākaḥ), Kharapata in *Artha sāstra*, IV 8, *Mrcch*, VI 9, 10 (planetary astrology)
- 47 cf RAJA, *ZII*, 2, p 264, PISHAROTI, *BSOS*, 3, p 116, KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI, *Āscaryacūdāmanī*, intr, pp 19, 26-27
- 48 cf RAJA, *JOR*, 1, pp 217-225, PISHAROTI, *Bhasa's Plays, A Criticism* pp 30-31
- 49 cf *Āscaryacūdāmanī*, prologue
- 50 Harihar SASTRI, *JOR*, 2, pp 210-213, THOMAS, *JRAS*, 1928, p 890
- 51 Haraprasad SASTRI, *OC*, V, pp 97-98, *JBORS*, V, p 559 Mr ARAVAMUTHAN suggests a comparison of Bhāsa's *devakula* with the Kushan devakulas of Mathura (*South Indian Portraits in Stone and Metal*, 1930, and *Portrait Sculpture in South India*, 1931)
- 52 *Prat*, p 131, *Abh*, p 81
- 53 *Rām*, II 16-20
- 54 See *infra*, pp 154-155
- 55 THOMAS, *JRAS*, 1928, pp 877-890
- 56 WINSTON, *Bhagavadajjukya*, Preface, *BRRI*, V, p 11
- 57 JOHNSTON, *IA*, 62, p 95
- 58 cf *JBBRAS*, 1942, pp 23-29, where I have given detailed references
- 59 cf *Nāṭyaśāstra*, 22-283

पितृपुत्रस्तुपाश्चश्रूद्धय नाटकम् ।

CHAPTER V

- 1 *Bāl*, p 27, cf also, *Karna*, p 84
- 2 *Prat*, pp 118-119, *Avi*, I 11, p 96

- 3 *Pañc*, I 28, also I 22
- 4 *Madhyama* p 30
- 5 *Prat* p 99
- 6 *Ati*, p 16
- 7 *Madhyama*, St 34.
- 8 *Pañc*, I 24 25 *Karna*, St 47
- 9 *Pañc*, II 47
- 10 pp 45 77 78, and *Pañc*, II and *Bāl*, III
- 11 *Pañc* I 6 *Prat*, III 5
- 12 *Cār*, p 45
- 13 Cf *Bāl*, II 5 *Pañc*, p 52, *Ati* p 14, I 7, II 5.
p 7
- 14 *Pañc*, I 21
- 15 *Stāpna* p 28 also *Karna*, p 71, *Cār*, p 41 for
earlier references in this paragraph
- 16 *Ati* p 73
- 17 *Prat*, p 98 *Cār*, pp 26 36
- 18 *Madhyama*, p 42 cf *Prat*, p 98, and *Ati* p 87 for
references about guests For relation between
husband and wife, See *Prat*, I 10, 25, *Bāl*, p 10,
Pry p 9
- 19 *Stāpna*, pp 9 26
- 20 *Stāpna*, I 9
- 21 *Pry*, p 57, for the earlier sentence, cf. *Prat*, p 33.
Pry, p 9
- 22 *Dgh*, p 65, *Stāpna*, p 129 *Pañc*, p 60
- 23 *Pry*, p 72, also *Stāpna* p 133
- 24 *Prat*, I 15
- 25 *Pry*, p 29 See *Pry*, II 4 and *Ati*, pp 10-11 for
other references in this paragraph

- 26 *Avi*, pp 38 39, *Śaṣṭhāna*, p 43, *Pry*, p 38
- 27 *Pry*, p 72 and *Śaṣṭhāna*, p. 133 Also, *Śaṣṭhāna*, p 17, *Pry*, II 8, pp 28 29, *Avi*, pp 10-11, *Ūru*, St 9, *Svaṣṭhāna*, pp 57, 53 57, 40 and *Avi*, p 103 for the whole of this paragraph
- 28 KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI, *Āścarya*, intr, pp 26 27, *Pry*, pp 33, 34, 37, 73, *Śaṣṭhāna*, p 43, *Avi*, p 11
- 29 cf AIYAPPAN, *BRRI*, 9, pp 71 72, also *Bhāsa-A Study*, p 377
- 30 *Avi*, 54, also serially, *Avi*, I 2, 9, *Pry*, Act II *Śaṣṭhāna*, Act II, *Pry*, p 50
- 31 *Cār*, pp 5, 84 For earlier references, cf *Avi*, p 2 *Madhyama*, p 11, *Prat*, I 25, p 33, *Pry*, p 9
- 32 *Cār*, p 36
- 33 *Prat*, I 9, *Abh*, II 11 Also, *Śaṣṭhāna*, V 10, *Cār*, p 82 for earlier references
- 34 cf *Avi*, p 54, and *Śaṣṭhāna*, p 57, *Dgh*, p 52
- 35 *Avi*, pp 54, 56, 86, 87 and IV 21
- 36 *Cār*, p 89, also, *Prat*, I 29, p 36, *Śaṣṭhāna*, p 140, *Ūru*, st 38
- 37 cf *Ūru*, p 109, *Bhāsa—A Study*, pp 383 384
- 38 *Svaṣṭhāna*, p 102, *Pry*, pp 56-57, *Avi*, p 2, *Abh*, II 4
- 39 *Bāl*, Act V
- 40 *Avi*, pp 27 28, *Pry*, pp 50, 56 57, 64, *Car*, Acts I and III, *Svaṣṭhāna*, p 102
- 41 *Śaṣṭhāna*, p 102
- 42 *Pry*, p 50
- 43 *Abh*, p 6, *Prat*, p 57, also *Avi*, p 2
- 44 *Pañc*, p 52, *Bāl*, p 39, *Avi*, pp 14, 29
- 45 *Avi*, pp 43 46, *Cār*, Acts I and III

- 46 *Ati*, pp 43-44
 47 *Cār*, I 26, also *Cār* Act I, pp 52-53, 51-52 and 29
 48 *Cār*, p 97, *Mrcch* Act IV
 49 *Pañc* pp 48-52 *Bāl*, pp 11, 14-15, 38-42
 50 *Bāl* pp 14-15
 51 *Pry* p 57
 52 *Prat* III 3, p 61
 53 cf *Pry*, p 32
 54 *Prat* p 59
 55 See respectively, *Pry*, pp 21-22, 66, *Madhyama*,
 p 34 *Ati*, pp 64-65 70-71 *Dr*, pp 23-24, *Cār*, pp
 74-77, *Madhyama*, pp 33 ff. *Ati*, pp 103, 107, *Bāl*,
 pp 22-23 *Ati* II 5, *Pañc* p 48, *Bāl*, p 26
 56 *Bāl*, pp 12-55, Act V also, pp 38-41 *Pañc*, pp
 49-50
 57 cf *Cār*, pp 23, 38, 45, also *Ati*, p 63, *Pry*, II 13,
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 58 *Cār* pp 45, 77, 78
 59 *Stapna*, p 139
 60 cf *Prat* p 10
 61 *Dgh*, St 9
 62 cf *Bāl*, p 12 and p 65 for further reference
 63 cf *Bhāsa*—A Study, pp 18-19
 64 *Ati*, p 60
 65 cf *Mrcch*, Act II, *Cār*,
 references, cf *Dr*, st 11, *Ati*
 66 cf *Cār*, Act III
 67 cf *Cār*, *cf*, 102.
 68 *Ati* p. p 22;
in *Ati* *dh*.

- 69 *Arthasāstra*, pp 41 42, CHAKRADAR, *Social Life in Ancient India*, p 109
- 70 cf *Prat*, Act I
- 71 *Avi*, I 12
- 72 *Pry*, p 34 For other references cf *Karna*, st 47 *Prat* p 92, VII 11, *Pry*, p 30
- 73 *Pañc*, I 25 See also *Pañc*, I. 24, *Avi*, I 2, VI 19 *Dv*, st 24, p 18, *Avi*, p 62 for subsequent references in the paragraph
- 74 *Dv*, p 6, also pp 8, 14, 22
- 75 For references in this paragraph, *Pañc*, II 13 *Abh* IV 22, *Ūru*, st 22 *Pañc*, II 5
- 76 *Abh*, III 2, *Bāl*, II 2
- 77 cf King Bimbisāra had married Kosala and Vaisālī princesses, Ajātasatru married a Kosala princess Udayana's mother was a Videha princess and Prasenajit married a Śakya princess
- 78 *Avi*, p 13, also *Prat*, pp 15, 17, *Avi*, I 11 and *Arthasāstra*, V 6 for other references
- 79 cf *Prat*, Act I
- 80 cf *Avi*, I 5 p 13
- 81 *Avi*, Act I and *Pry*, Act II, also *Pry* IV 8
- 82 *Svapna* V 12
- 83 *Abh*, pp 41, 43, also *Dv*, p 22, *Abh* p 43, Ghatotkaca (*Dgh* pp 66 67) and Hanuman (*Abh* pp 41 42)
- 84 *Avi* I 12 also p 100, *Pry* Acts I, III, IV, *Ati*, VI 10, 14 pp 105 106
- 85 cf *Ūru*, St 8 For other references in the paragraph, see *Pry*, p 9, I 12, *Pañc*, I 40, *Ūru*, st 8

- 46 *Ati*, pp 43 44
 47 *Cār*, I 26 also *Cār* Act I, pp 52-53 51-52 and 29.
 48 *Cār*, p 97, *Mrcch* Act IV
 49 *Pañc*, pp 48 52 *Bāl* pp 11, 14-15, 38-42
 50 *Bāl* pp 14 15
 51 *Pry* p 57
 52 *Prat*, III 3, p 61
 53 cf *Pry* p 32
 54 *Prat*, p 59
 55 See respectively *Pry*, pp 21 22, 66, *Madhyama*,
 p 34 *Ati*, pp 64 65 70 71, *Di*, pp 23-24, *Cār*, pp
 74 77 *Madhyama* pp 33 ff *Ati*, pp 103, 107; *Bāl*,
 pp 22 23 *Ati* II 5, *Pañc*, p 48, *Bāl*, p 26
 56 *Bāl*, pp 12, 55, Act V also, pp 38 41, *Pañc*, pp
 49 50
 57 cf *Cār*, pp 23, 38, 45, also *Ati*, p 63, *Pry*, II 13;
Ati I 9
 58 *Cār* pp 45, 77, 78
 59 *Stapna*, p 139
 60 cf *Prat* p 10
 61 *Dgh* St 9
 62 cf *Bāl*, p 12 and p 65 for further reference
 63 cf *Bhāṣa—A Study* pp 18 19
 64 *Ati*, p 60
 65 cf *Mrcch*, Act II *Cār*, pp 55, 99, for earlier
 references, cf *Di*, st 11, *Ati*, p 45
 66 cf *Cār*, Act III
 67 cf *Cār*, pp 91, 92, 96, 102
 68 *Ati*, pp 46-48, *Bāl*, p 22, *Pry*, pp 23, 37, *Stapna*,
 0

- 69 *Arthasāstra*, pp 41-42, CHAKRADAR, *Social Life in Ancient India*, p 109
- 70 cf *Prat*, Act I
- 71 *Avi*, I 12
- 72 *Pry*, p 34 For other references, cf *Karna*, st. 47, *Prat*, p 92, VII 11, *Pry*, p 30
- 73 *Pañc*, I 25 See also *Pañc*, I. 24 *Avi*, I 2, VI 19 *Dv*, st 24, p 18, *Avi*, p 62 for subsequent references in the paragraph
- 74 *Dv*, p 6, also pp 8, 14, 22
- 75 For references in this paragraph, *Pañc*, II 13, *Abh* IV 22, *Ūru*, st 22, *Pañc*, II 5
- 76 *Abh*, III 2, *Bāl*, II 2
- 77 cf King Bimbisara had married Kosala and Vaisali princesses Ajātasatru married a Kosala princess, Udayana's mother was a Videha princess, and Prasenajit married a Śākya princess
- 78 *Avi*, p 13, also *Prat*, pp 15, 17, *Ati*, I 11 and *Arthasāstra*, V 6 for other references
- 79 cf *Prat* Act I
- 80 cf *Avi* I 5, p 13
- 81 *Avi*, Act I and *Pry*, Act II, also *Pry*, IV 8
- 82 *Stapna*, V 12
- 83 *Abh*, pp 41, 43, also *Dv*, p 22 *Abh*, p 43, Ghatotkaca (*Dgh*, pp 66 67) and Hanūman (*Abh*, pp 41-42)
- 84 *Avi*, I 12 also p 100, *Pry* Acts I, III, IV, *Ati* VI 10, 14, pp 105 106
- 85 cf *Ūru*, St 8 For other references in the paragraph, see *Pry*, p 9 I 12, *Pañc*, I 40, *Ūru*, st 8

- 86 *Ūru* st 9 also cf *Dī* st 8 and *Karna* p 72 for earlier references
- 87 *Karna* st 19 also st 13 and *Panc* II 7 and *Prī* I 12 for this paragraph
- 88 cf *Abh* pp 54 56
- 89 *Prī* IV 3 cf *Arthasāstra* V 3
- 90 cf *Panc* II 24 p 67 *Abh* pp 35 38
- 91 cf *Panc* p 70 II 28 p 91 also III 2 3 4
- 92 For detailed references see *Bhāsa—4 Study* pp 414 416
- 93 *Prī* Act III pp 39 40 47 51
- 94 *Prat* pp 59 66 III 13
- 95 *Prat* pp 54 59
- 96 cf *OC* V pp 97 98 also *Prat* pp 59 61 63
- 97 cf *Prat* Act III Bharata coming from Kekaya was not familiar with statue houses erected in Avodhya
- 98 *Car* p 10 for earlier references cf *Ūru* St 3 *Prī* p 40
- 99 *D* pp 9 12 also *Śatapatha* pp 134 136 *Cir* p 88
- 100 cf *Prī* p 28 *Ati* pp 43 44 III 5 6 *Cir* p 64
- 101 cf *Prat* I 9
- 102 cf *Dī* pp 7 26
- 103 *Prī* p 39 also *Bal* p 33
- 104 cf *Ati* II 12 For earlier references See *Prī* II 2 *Bal* II 23 III 9 *Abh* I 24 *Prat* V 12 *Prī* p 51
- 105 *Prī* p 39 also *Irat* p 59
- 106 *Cār* pp 26 27 also *Irat* pp 96-97 99 100
- 107 *Prī* pp 43 46

- 108 *Asi*, p 15
- 109 cf *Pañc* I 10
- 110 *Śaṣṭha*, I 4, *Bal* II 14
- 111 *Ūru*, st 50, *Avi*, II 1
- 112 *Pry*, p 9, *Avi*, p 16, also *Prat*, p 99
- 113 *Abh*, VI 2
- 114 *Prat* p 58
- 115 *Svapna* V 4 also *Avi* pp 80 81

CHAPTER VI

- 1 References to important articles and works on the Bhasa problem published subsequent to 1922 will be found in the select Bibliography at the end
- ? 2 *CR* Dec 1924, p 330
- 3 *Bhasa's Plays A Critical Study*, pp 16 18
- 4 For full and detailed references, see my *Bhāsa—A Study*, pp 23 37
- 5 cf *Abhiseka*, Lahore Ed records three more stanzas (pp 23 note 4 38 note 4, 75 note 3), *Pañcaratna* (1917 Ed) contains stanzas I 13, 14 which were not found in the first (1912) Ed
- 6 cf O STEIN, *IHQ*, 14 p 445
- 7 Page 147
- 8 *JBBRAS* 1925, pp 135 137
- 9 Manuscript R No 2778 in the Govt Oriental MSS Library, Madras
- 10 *Supra*, p 103
- 11 cf *Supra*, p 12
- 12 *Supra*, p 73
- 13 cf *Atantisundarikathā*, Madras, 1924, p 2

सुविभक्तमुखाद्यङ्गैर्व्यक्तलक्षणवृत्तिभि ।

परेतोऽपि स्थितो भासः शरीरैरिव नाटकैः ॥

- 14 cf BARNETT, *BSOS*, 3, pp 519 522, PISHAROTI, *BSOS*, 3, pp 116 ff *Bhāsa—A Study*, pp 52 ff
 15 Supra, pp 129 135
 16 THOMAS, *JRAS*, 1928, pp 877 ff

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- 1 cf *Bhāsa—A Study* p 61
 2 BHANDARKAR, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, pp 69 71, SMITH, *Early History of India*, 4th Ed, pp 38f, 51
 3 cf *Svapna* p 14 *Cār*, p 51
 4 cf *Pry* p 3 *Avi* p 72, *Svapna*, p 14, *Cur*, pp 51, 74
 5 cf Haraprasad SASTRI *OC*, V, p 97
 6 cf *Pry* II 8, *Svapna*, pp 46 ff and *Avi*, marriage of Kuntibhoja's daughter with a Sauvira prince
 7 cf PUSALKER, *Bhāsa and Kautilya's Arthashastra*, *Rangasūamī Comm Vol* pp 87 94
 8 Supra, pp 103 104
 9 cf *Festschrift Kane*, pp 339-344
 10 Supra, pp 117 129
 11 cf also *Bhāsa—A Study* p 79 and note
 12 CHARPENTIER *Cambridge History of India*, Vol I, p 165

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